

The
South's Part In
"Mongrelizing the Nation

BY

EARNEST SEVIER COX
III

AUTHOR OF
White America and
Let My People Go

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By
EARNEST SEVIER COX

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THOSE SOUTHERNERS WHO
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CHEAP BY COMPETITION
WITH NEGRO LABOR.

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A Foreword To American Negroes

For three hundred years there has been a conflict among white people in America over the ideals and the issues involved in the bringing of the Negro into the colonies and his retention in the nation.

You are aware that your race is not responsible for its presence in America. You know that the few whites who enslaved your race held that your race was not fit for freedom. You also know that many of the whites who now profit by your toil assert that your race is not fit for independence. But I am not sure that you know that possibly nine-tenths of the white race in America during the period of the slave trade were opposed to the slave trade.

The following pages will contain a brief summary of the methods by which a few whites were able to impose their will upon the many. Though but a few whites profited by your enforced labor the race problem they produced through enslaving you for their personal gain threatens the very existence of the white race, as a racial type, in the nation. There has not been a time in our history in which farseeing men of our race have not anxiously peered into the future, conscious of the fact that regardless of temporary phases of the Negro problem the real issue is that of race integrity.

PHASES OF THE NEGRO PROBLEM

In the Colonial period and in the early days of the Republic the slave trade was the phase of the Negro problem which was uppermost in the minds of white men. When the slave trade had been made unlawful, there was a movement, led by the ablest men the nation has produced, to replace the American Negro in the homeland of his ancestors. Then followed an attempt by the slave owners who did not support the colonization movement to extend slavery to the new states and territories of the Union. The controversy over the extension of slavery produced political issues which led to the Civil War. As a result of the Civil War the Negro was made a citizen and given the ballot. The new political status of the Negro caused a generation of strife between the Negro and the whites in the Southern States, the whites emerging from the struggle in complete control of the various state governments. From the very first the economic phase of the Negro problem has been evident, the white laborer suffering from competition with the slave Negro and later with the free.

NEGRO RACE DIVIDED

The Negro race in the United States is divided, a portion of it seeking opportunity for racial independence in which it may work out a racial destiny, a larger portion opposing the striving for a racial destiny, and, instead, openly advocating that the Negro in America mix his blood with that of the white man in

America and create a negroid race throughout the nation.

WHITE RACE DIVIDED

The issue which divides that Negro race also divides the white race. A few white individuals continue the solution of the race problem by blending their blood with that of the Negro. A larger number of whites indirectly aid the solution by amalgamation through failing to assist, or by openly opposing, the separation of the races.

It would be desirable, if our situation would permit, to have the Negro problem settled between the Negro and the whites who oppose a separate nation for the Negro now, as other whites in the past opposed the colonization movement which was intended to return the Negro to the land of his ancestors. But the whites who wish Negro labor and white labor cheapened by competition with Negro labor are comparatively few. They rely upon the white laboring class to maintain social order while the races dwell together and, at the same time rely upon the Negro to cheapen the white laborers' wage. Playing one race against the other, this type of white man claims to be a friend to both.

THE SOLUTION OF THE PROBLEM

The nature of race problems limits their solution to that of amalgamation of the races, or that of the separation of the races. We have at our disposal sixty centuries of historical record of the white race in contact with

colored races and in those instances in which the problem created by the contact of races has not been solved it is now in visible evidence of solution. (See *WHITE AMERICA*, pp. 403, published by the White America Society, Richmond, Va.)

Notwithstanding the evidence from history and our knowledge of the nature of race problems, some white men become incensed when the American Negro problem is discussed in terms of solution. Opposing the solution of the problem by the amalgamation of the races they say they also oppose its solution by separation. They are not pleased when informed that their opposition to a solution of the problem places them in support of a program to continue the problem.

It is clear that if the Negro problem is not solved it will continue. Let us suppose that amalgamation ceases. Let us suppose that separation does not occur. The "Negro Problem" would still effect politics, economics, and every other phase of national interest. Racial competition would continue with the white man in an overwhelming majority, and every demand that he makes strengthened by the fact that he, justly, may assert a prior right in the affairs of a civilization that has issued from the genius of his race.

LIBERIA

It is to the credit of the American Negro that a considerable number of them have revived the movement to colonize Liberia. The wide distribution of "LET MY PEOPLE

GO"** has led to a correspondence by me with Negroes in Africa, the West Indies, and Latin America as well as in the United States. There seems to be ample evidence that Marcus Garvey, in his desire to establish an independent nation of American Negroes in Liberia, has aroused an enthusiastic support among a considerable number of Negroes in both the Old and the New World.

Protected by powerful British patrons the Colonial slave purchaser forced the white Colonials to admit the Negro into their midst. Protected by the Federal Constitution a dominant group of slave owners resisted the efforts of Bushrod Washington, Thomas Jefferson, James Madison, James Monroe, John Marshall, Henry Clay, Daniel Webster, Abraham Lincoln, and other great men to solve the Negro problem by returning the Negro to Africa.

The same problem continues and similar forces oppose its solution. Like the whites who profited by slavery, the whites who now wish cheap Negro labor pledge their own race to prolonged turmoil and, ultimately, to a final loss of its blood integrity. I do not believe that a few white men will be able to continue to impose their will upon the rest of the white race in America. They are protected by laws which were created for their protection, but they can be deprived of their advantage by constitutional methods.

*More than 20,000 copies of this small book were ordered by Negroes within a few months after its publication. A description of "Let My People Go," of "White America," and of "Philosophy and Opinions of Marcus Garvey" is given on pages 108-111 following.

The white man in America cannot save his race without saving yours. Those of you who wish a future for your race will support a program which by separating the races will preserve both of them for service to mankind. To those Negroes who despise their race and seek to lose themselves in the white race, it is sufficient to say that an overwhelming proportion of white Americans desire a solution of the American Negro problem and are determined that the solution shall not be amalgamation.

Introduction

The introduction of the Negro into the colonies precipitated a struggle between those who wished white colonies and those who wished the colonies to be part Negro in their populations. We have ample evidence that those who held the white ideal were dominant in the General Assembly of Virginia during the colonial period. Tucker's "Blackstone's Commentaries (published in 1803), Vol. I, Appendix, page 49, lists twenty-one acts of the General Assembly, beginning with the year 1699, for the purpose of checking the progress and increase of slavery. Other authorities, dealing with a longer period of the acts of the Virginia General Assembly, list not less than thirty-three acts which were passed for this purpose. At the end of this treatise, page 96, will be found an extract from a Petition to the Throne from the House of Burgesses of Virginia, April 1, 1772. That document is sufficient to give us an understanding of the ideals of the majority of white colonials, and at the same time to make clear the reason why the white ideal could not be realized in Colonial times.

The small group of white Colonials which wished Negro labor worked in league with British slave-trading companies. Members of the British Royal House were financially interested in the profits from the slave traffic, and the Royal Assent was withheld from Colonial acts which placed sufficient burden upon

the traffic to suppress it, or to hamper it in any serious manner. The Crown, at times, for the purpose of encouraging the sale of Negro slaves, actually discouraged the migration of white laborers to the Colonies.

When the power of Britain over the Colonies had been broken and the Colonies had set up an independent nation, the small group of Southerners, which wished Negro labor, allied itself with the Northern slave traders, as it had formerly allied itself with the British traders. The second alliance prevented the condemnation of slavery and the slave traffic in the Declaration of Independence, gave Constitutional recognition and guarantees for slavery, and legally prolonged the slave-trade. Thus we see that a few Southerners, first through an understanding with British slave-sellers, and later, through coöperation with the Northern slave-sellers, were able to impose their will upon the Colonies, and afterwards, upon the nation.

With the Constitution recognizing slavery, the next phase of the struggle over the ideal of a white race in a white nation was between the whites who upheld the white ideal, as best they could under adverse conditions, and those whites who sought to implant the Negro in unsettled America. This phase of the struggle eventually brought on the Civil War.

A WHITE RACE IN A WHITE NATION

The vision of a white nation by the early Colonials, as they took up the land of the Indian and pressed his race to the west, recur-

red; and capable men and women of the North and the South, not only opposed the incoming of more Negroes but proposed to repatriate those that were here. Liberia was colonized by American Negroes. The movement for colonization was supported by the ablest men of the day, North and South. Some of the Southerners who supported colonization were members of the limited group of men which owned slaves. But the greedy members of the slave-owning class triumphed over its members who put race above profits. While able and far-seeing Southerners were trying to colonize the Negro in Africa, other Southerners were trying to carry the Negro into the new territories of the Union. The two movements were contemporaneous. The Southerners who not only opposed the colonization of the Negro in Africa but sought instead to extend the Negro to unoccupied America, won their claim in the courts, but lost it upon the battlefield.

However, the Civil War did not and could not settle the Negro problem. Race problems endure. They last as long as races exist side by side. Race problems are eventually solved, but they cannot be solved except by mixing the races or separating them. The nature of race problems precludes other forms of solution. From the alternatives of separation or amalgamation we cannot escape and between these alternatives we must choose. We are witnessing the process of the solution of the Negro problem by the amalgamation of the races. If amalgamation is not to be the ending of the Negro problem in the nation, we

are confronted by the need of devising means for a final separation of the races.

The first portion of this treatise deals with the solution of the Negro problem, by amalgamation of the races, which is now under way in the United States. The second portion deals with Abraham Lincoln's proposed solution of the problem by the separation of the races; and contains a brief summary of certain Southern ideals and institutions which may be utilized to oppose the solution of the Negro problem, by miscegenation, and to secure a final solution of the problem by giving the Negro a nation of his own.

A more lengthy statement of the historical relations of the events and ideals herein discussed may seem desirable, but the treatise is brief. The historical data is so placed as to give light upon the subject to which it is related.

The writer is not unaware that a racial viewpoint of the history of the South is a new departure, and may be unwelcomed by many. If the present advocates of a mongrel race in a mongrel nation were not men and women of power we could ignore them. But they are entrenched within existing economics, politics, and religion, and we cannot ignore them. To weaken the influence of the present opponents of a white race in a white nation we need only to vision the race-destroying stock from which they are sprung.

The South's Part In Mongrelizing The Nation

Historians have exalted the culture and deeds of the White South. Culture and deeds are transient. Race alone is permanent. Let us, then, consider the history of the White South in relation to that which is permanent —race.

THE SOUTH A BROODLAND FOR MULATTOES

The gulf between racial ideals and racial facts in the White South would be ludicrous were it not terrible. Pride of race and destruction of race have gone hand in hand in Southern history.

Our "glories" are temporary, some have passed: a military glory paid for by the loss of the best blood of our race; an unquestioned political genius, which, however, has not made a permanent contribution to government; a fragrant social culture possessed by a slave-owning aristocracy, a culture as dead as the institution of slavery; a color-line that has preserved a White South but has not prevented a partial mixing of the races.

In the presence of millions of mixbreeds, the White South looks backward through three hundred years of contact with the Negro and forward into three thousand years of contact with the Negro, and feels that the color-line, however strongly supported, does not offer a guarantee that the white race is to survive.

From their Southern broodland our Negroes and our mixbreeds, some almost white, migrate, in steadily increasing numbers, and mingle the blood of Africa with that of Europe in the remotest parts of the nation. In steadily increasing numbers, the near-whites of the mixbreeds mingle the blood of the Negro with that of the white race in the South. The White South is made to question whether its sole permanent influence upon the establishment of the white race in the Western World is to be a contribution of destruction.

We white Southerners, confronted by 12,000,000 Negroes and mixbreeds, confronted by racial facts that will not down and not by racial fancies with which we have deluded ourselves, realize that the whirlwind is being reaped. We who have made the most practical application of a color-line to be found in history, dwell with 3,000,000 mixbreeds, and are just becoming conscious that the offspring of an illegal union of the races is, racially, not to be distinguished from the product of a legal union. We are just becoming aware that the color-line will not save us.

It is true that Great Britain on many occasions turned a deaf ear to her colonies, which pleaded for a cessation of the slave trade. It is true that the North gradually unloaded most of its slaves on the South. We of the South have found a measure of consolation in relating these historical events. But neither alien nor domestic influences caused our people to mix with the Negro. Miscegenation has been, and is, the result of our own choosing. A few white women and many white men desired to

mate with the Negro. The mass of the white people of the South permitted miscegenation, and, racially, are to be held responsible for it.

Having set in motion a destructive force, to deny responsibility for its effect will make the South less enviable than it is. To be the chief contributor to a racial debacle and to be self-consoled by saying that others, too, have had a part, will make the South still less enviable, for the South has had most to save and has done most to destroy. The sins of others we may well cease to contemplate when our own sins are damning us.

Bayonets of Northern whites transformed the Negro from a slave to a citizen, and greedy political cliques of the North gave the Negro dominion of the South; but the North's part in the history of the South and its Negro population was transient*. The South's part in dealing with the Negro will endure. The political status of the Negro has been, and can be, changed. The racial status of the mixbreed remains.

Face to face with destructive agencies of its own creation, will the White South survive? Possibly no single authority upon the history of the contact of races will be willing to predict that the White South is to survive, but, will affirm that, in the generations to come, it will give way to a Mulatto South. Let us then examine the motives which will have caused a great people to barter their birth-right of race.

* Union soldiers produced a considerable number of mulattoes in the South. The mixing of the races is a permanent, not a transient, influence.

GREED

Thirteen years after the time that Captain John Smith saved the Jamestown settlement by proclaiming that he who did not work should not eat, the white race represented at Jamestown adopted another ideal—it would eat from the labor of an alien race. To nullify the Divine obligation to live by the sweat of their brows, some of the whites sought to secure their living by the sweat of the brows of black men. It cost less to have black brows sweat! Such was their new economic theory.

Black brows did not take kindly to the new theory. It was necessary to devise means to compel them to sweat. The means devised gradually developed into the institution of slavery, including the right of corporal punishment for disobedience. The black brows became the personal property of the white brows that wished to avoid sweat. But races as well as individuals are ordained to live by the sweat of their brows. Races live by their own labor or perish.

Our ancestors were not groping in the dark. Hugh Davis, a white servant, was publicly whipped at Jamestown for cohabiting with a Negress. This was three hundred years ago. Before the end of the seventeenth century, the laws of Maryland provided as punishment a servitude of seven years for the white man or woman who became the parent of a mulatto child. In 1705 the colony of Massachusetts attempted to discourage the importation of Negro slaves "for the Better Prevention of a

spurious or mixt Issue." Though there were numerous warnings of the inescapable issue attending upon the bringing of the Negroes to the colonies, the warnings did not deter the Negro-purchasing colonial, for he wished cheap labor.

The settlers at Jamestown who wished slave labor were not alone in their desire to live without the sweat of their brows. For more than a hundred years black brows had been used to assuage the toil of white ones in the Latin colonies to the south of Jamestown. Jamestown merely marks the first step in Saxon America's following the path of Latin America.

When the toil and intelligence of white men had enabled them to explore unknown lands and report upon these lands to the nations of their European home, there came to Europe the knowledge that southward along the coast of Africa was to be found the Negro. The Negro was not unknown to Europe. Some had come with the Moors. Others were held in slavery in the Turkish domains. But the land route to Negro-land was across the Great Sahara desert and few there were who would travel it.

The new route brought the European nations into contact with the great reservoir of the Negro race which for centuries had contributed slaves to the Mohammedan powers. Eliminating the Mohammedan middleman, Europeans at first bought Negroes from Negroes. Later some of the whites eliminated

the Negro middleman and themselves caught slaves.

Spain, at the height of her power, set up a monopoly in the slave trade, farming it out to other European nations. Wars were fought and the choicest fruit of victory was the privilege of dominating the slave traffic. The enormous profits attracted English "bootleggers," who contrived to outwit the Spanish control of the trade. The English bootleggers were at first opposed by the British government, for bootlegging was one of the factors threatening to involve Great Britain in war with Spain. Queen Elizabeth called down from heaven a curse upon the chief English bootlegger, John Hawkins, but when she found that Hawkins could successfully defy the Spanish she relented, knighted Hawkins, became a partner with him in his slave traffic and let him have her ship "The Jesus" with which to augment his fleet. Later, the Spanish Armada was defeated. England became mistress of the seas and the erstwhile English bootlegger became a legitimate trader.

By 1750 English and English colonial intellectuals had begun to question seriously the morality of slavery, and also the racial propriety of introducing the Negro among white peoples. But the English did not make much progress toward stopping the slave traffic until slave markets began to be closed to her traders, and the development of her industries changed her economic interests. Then England not only stopped the traffic herself, but

declared that no one else should continue it, classing all slavers as pirates.

In America, Thomas Jefferson proclaimed that race problems would be solved, and that they could not be solved except by mixing the races or by separating them. But vested interests prevented Jefferson's attempt to condemn slave owning and slave trading in his Declaration of Independence, and that document was passed in its present form with the objectionable passages deleted.

Trace the white man's interest in the Negro to its source, and you will find that the white man's interest has an economic taproot. The greed of the white man was responsible for the enslaving of the black; but the problem resulting from the implanting of the Negro in our midst cannot be solved by greed. Jefferson correctly appraised the problem when he declared it to be of a nature eventually to be solved by the separation of the races or by the amalgamation of the races.

LUST

The first reaction of the colonials to miscegenation was conspicuously violent—the lash for white men, imprisonment for white women. Whites who were mixing the races were visited with the instinctive wrath of the Saxon, conscious that the integrity of his race was being imperiled. In addition to the lash laid upon Hugh Davis, the white servant at Jamestown, he was compelled to stand in the religious assembly the following Sabbath and declare that

the offense would not be repeated.* Aware of the danger of race mixing, the white colonial had resorted to a color-line for protection.

Whipping and imprisonment for violating the "thou shalt not" of the color-line would seemingly be effective for its preservation. Such punishment, if drastically meted to the offenders, would greatly reduce the number of offenses.

Had offense against the color-line been limited to men and women of the white servant class in the colonies, the color-line would have fared better. But slave owners, men of wealth and influence, violated the tenets of the color-line, and public whipping of the miscegenationists** became unpopular, for the slave owner and his son resented being publicly whipped, and also resented being compelled to admit their sins in religious assemblies. The colonial judiciary found it convenient to condone miscegenation. Thus we see that when the wealthy whites became offenders the only punishment that gave promise of success was abandoned—abandoned in order to adjust legal sanctions to the unhindered lust of a privileged group.

*The white colonial may not have known that the color-line had failed to protect white groups during sixty centuries of historical contact of white and colored races. The color-line prolongs the purity of the white race; it does not perpetuate it. A mulatto inherited the throne of the Pharoahs! The Aryans perished in India! The color-line has been abandoned as a national ideal in many parts of Latin America, while in South Africa and in the United States, many mixbreeds have passed the great divide and found refuge in the dominant group. The book *WHITE AMERICA*, published by the White America Society, contains an account of the color-line during the past six thousand years.

**Mis-ce-gen-a-tion [from Latin, misceo = to mix, and genus = a race], the mixing of races.

Stripped of the Saxon's instinctive and violent wrath, the legal sanctions supporting the purity of the Saxon waned, and were generally replaced, when white men were guilty, by a public tolerance of race mixing not to be distinguished from public approval.

The slave owner owned the body of his slaves, and within the institution of slavery miscegenation found a sanctuary from which it could not be driven by law or public disapproval. Other white men, profiting by the legal exemptions so easily won by the privileged group, without fear of law or effective public disapproval, resorted to what for more than two hundred years was to be an unquestioned practice—carnal intercourse with Negro women.

Not all slave owners and not all non-slave owners despised their heredity to the extent of mingling their blood with that of the slaves. Had all white men been of this renegade type, the races long ago would have been mixed. Probably not half of the mixbreeds owe their being to the lust and privileged position of the slave owner, who had a tendency to select particular females for concubines, usually mix-breed girls. The greater number of first crosses came from the casual relation of other whites with Negro women. The exemption from punishment, won by the slave-owner who owned his black mistress, extended to other white men who did not own their black lovers, and, as we have stated above, all white men, in equal degree, escaped punishment.

We have no knowledge of the number of the

first crossings of the races, but we have as their result some three million mixbreeds. We do not know the number of light-colored mixbreeds who have "passed over the color-line" but we know that such migrations have been made and that they continue.

Mulattoes were worth more on the slave block than were full blacks. This encouraged miscegenation. Under the patronage of the privileged class, race-mixing increased. If the mulatto girl on the slave block was known to be the daughter of her master, the bidding for her would doubtless be livelier, for the South has always held that "blood counts."

No longer looked upon as a race horror, concubinage gradually grew into a recognized institution. White men with colored mistresses were considered normal citizens. If the offspring of such relations were sometimes sold by their fathers, it is to be presumed that when the father pocketed the coin of the realm, he felt that concubinage carried with it more than sexual advantage.

But large numbers of the children of white fathers and their Negress concubines were not sold. Many were freed and given property by their white fathers. Others were brought into the household of the white father to serve their half-brothers and sisters as privileged house servants. This relation gave to the mulatto child the advantages to be derived from a close association with its white parent. This relation also enabled the white wife of the slave owner to give special care to the upbringing of her husband's negroid child.

While the spiritual and physical attractions of the Negress were sometimes strong enough to hold her white paramour in prolonged intrigue, the flowering of the institution of concubinage was not attained until it had centered upon the half-breed and the nearer white. The child of a mulatto-white parentage is a quadroon. The cross between a quadroon and a white parent is an octoroon—one eighth Negro. The rise of the octoroon class marks the perfection of concubinage. This type carried the institution beyond the slave-owning group and continued it after slavery was abolished.*

Throughout the unsavory and race-damning miscegenation record of the South there has been but one hope for the white race in the South. We white men point with pride to the race-preserving record of our women. The tutelary deity of the Saxon, as he viewed with grave concern the wasting of his people, had but a single trust that the race would survive:

* "Quadroon Balls" were held in New Orleans, colored men not being permitted to attend, where white men came to select concubines from the colored debutantes. When affinities were discovered, formalities were entered into to determine what time the white man should give to his mistress and the amount of time he should spend with his white associates. Definite agreements stipulated the amount of funds to be provided the mistress and the kind of home she should maintain for her white lover. —(See "The Mulatto In The United States" by Edward Byron Reuter, page 141.) For a description of a Quadroon Ball in New Orleans, see "Lafcadio Hearn's American Days," by Edward Lacombe Tinker, page 192. The last mentioned writer makes a truly remarkable reference to these mixbreed girls who engaged themselves to white men for concubines. "They did not wish to marry Negroes and they could not marry whites. There remained only one course open to these victims of heredity—they must become the mistresses of white men." Does that writer hold that miscegenation produces females only? Were there no mixbreed males for the females to marry?

Race mothers bred race sons! The white man of the South must forever stand in abasement before the white woman of the South, for as the white man destroyed his race, the white woman preserved it. We white men owe to our women an homage infinitely greater than that of chivalry. When we look upon our women we must realize that they, and they only, have been true to the ancient heritage of Saxon blood which has given to Saxon peoples a dominant position among the races of mankind.

FANATICISM

The horrors of the Middle Passage and the discipline of the slave-owner's lash were justified by asserting that the Negro would be Christianized and taught an orderly life: Greed was operating under the cloak of religion. Men of the white race who did not wish to live by the sweat of their brows, affirmed that it would be an economic advantage to force the Negro to work: Greed was operating under the cloak of economy. To be sure, it was a strange Christianity which lent its support to the enslavement of a race, and it was a strange race-economy which implanted a permanent and growing class of cheap laborers to forever lower the remuneration of laborers of the dominant race; but Greed has an art which colors its cloaks and makes them appear the true texture of justice and morality.

The nation had witnessed Christianity distorted by Greed, in order that Greed might attain its ends through the enslavement of the

Negro. The triumphant South was the chief exponent of this distorted Christianity and false race-economy. The prostrate South was, however, soon to witness the extraordinary ingenuity of Greed in changing cloaks. In order to exploit the Negro, the South held the Negro to be of inferior heredity, an heredity so inferior that the Negro profited by being exploited. To exploit the fallen South the political groups dominant in Congress asserted the equality of the races of mankind, and declared that any particular race needed only an opportunity to prove its equality. Greed had operated under "inequality of races." It was now to operate under "equality of races." The greedy politician draped himself with the cloak worn by Wendell Phillips and Charles Sumner.

Wendell Phillips, notwithstanding his splendid mental attainments, had clad himself in the cloak of fanaticism. Beginning with sympathy for the lowly slave, his enthusiasm grew to a point where he claimed to have found a Negro who was the greatest man of history. Charles Sumner drifted along the path of fanaticism until he came to believe that the ballot in the hands of the Negroes and the burial of Negroes in the graveyards of the whites would bring to the Negroes a power which would enable them to maintain equality with the white people of the South.

The greedy politicians who were to exploit the fallen South knew that their cloak of race equality would not be sufficient for their success. They proclaimed the equality of races

but put their faith in the bayonets of Union soldiers. Two years after the war had ended the exploiting politician raised the cry that the South was again in rebellion and that white soldiers from the North were required in the South. The cry of the politician was confusing to the people of the North, but when they understood that the politicians were using Union troops to maintain the Negro in power, while the "Carpetbagger" and "Scalawag" exploited the fallen South, the people of the North opposed the Reconstruction.*

THE WAR AMENDMENTS

The racial results of the Civil War and the War Amendments to the Federal Constitution are so important that it is difficult to understand why they are ignored by the historian, even by the historian whose grand passion it is to portray military glory and political genius. The Thirteenth Amendment freed the Negro. The Fourteenth Amendment made the Negro a citizen and provided protection for his citizenship. The Fifteenth Amendment prevented suffrage from being denied a citizen because of race, color, or previous condition of servitude. The slaves were made free, were made citizens, and were given the ballot.

We have seen that miscegenation found a sanctuary within the institution of slavery,

*The Fifteenth Amendment conferred suffrage upon the Negro. The defeated Southern states were forced to accept the Fifteenth Amendment. Seven of them ratified it by the Negro vote. Virginia, Mississippi and Texas assented to it as a condition of readmission to the Union. It was overwhelmingly opposed by the people of several of the Northern states. (White America, Chapter X.)

and that neither law nor public disapproval could drive it from its sanctuary. Centered on, and protected by, the concubinage of the master with the slave, whose body he owned, sexual relations between the races, usually more or less casual, became common.

The Thirteenth Amendment loosened the arm of the lustful slave owner from the body of his black mistress. It drove concubinage from its sanctuary. It was a mighty and necessary step toward placing miscegenation where law and public contempt would ere long cause it to be regarded as a race sin. The first political effects of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments were to deprive the White South of the rulership of the South and give the overlordship of the South to the Negro. These Amendments have transferred the interest of the white men of the South from the breast of the Negro race to its throat.

As a direct result of the Civil War, a large proportion of Southern manhood was lost to the white race. As an indirect result of the Civil War fewer mulattoes have been bred. These are the outstanding racial influences of the Civil War and the War Amendments insofar as the South is concerned. But the biological reflexes of the Civil War and the War Amendments carry with them grave racial consequences for the North.

BACKWASH

Sometimes we Southerners maintain that the "Yankees" sold their slaves to the South and then freed the slaves. In large measure this did occur, but no one can justly say that the

slaves were sold to the South with the intention of freeing them. The North wished to be rid of the Negro and found willing purchasers. Abraham Lincoln had stated that the slaves of the South would be as free from molestation under his administration as they had been under the administration of George Washington. When the war was on, he said that, if he could save the Union by freeing none of the slaves, he would free none of the slaves.

The Civil War was fought largely because of slavery, but not to free the slaves. Lincoln and his party sought to prevent the Southern slave owner from exercising what the slave owner said was his constitutional right—the right to carry his Negroes into the new territories. Those states that passed resolutions of sympathy for the slaves, but expressed a desire not to have the free Negro in their midst, gave a fair sample of Northern opinion of the day. But slavery was but a phase of the Negro problem. That particular phase of the problem is past, but the problem itself remains, and the Northern states are receiving many of the Negro race.

The flow of the Negro as a slave to the South has been succeeded by the flow of the Negro as a freeman to the North. The War Amendments released the Negro from his segregation in the South and enabled him to roam at will throughout the nation. The reflexes of the Civil War reduced miscegenation in the South; the reflexes of the Civil War have increased miscegenation in the North, and the

movement of the Southern Negroes to the North has not ended.

Some of the Southern states, still wedded to a three-hundred-year-old false race-economy, attempt to discourage the Negro from leaving the South. Some of the Southern editors have expressed a desire for the Negroes in the North to return to the South. As the nature of a race problem cannot be changed by a Southern state, nor even by a Southern editor, the Negro problem will be solved either by the separation of the races or by the amalgamation of the races. The South has partially tried both forms of solution and seems, by its opposition to the former, to be favorable to the latter. Possibly the Southern states and the Southern editors wish the Negroes now in the North to return to the South so that the future Southerner may be a mulatto and not a quadroon!

The unique position of the historical South, in proclaiming the Negro a racial danger and yet clinging to him as an economic asset, is worthy of consideration.

THE FIFTEEN PER CENT

Why does the South wish the Negro to remain in the South? Does the South wish the Negroes now here to remain, and those who have departed to return, for the purpose of benefiting the white laborer of the South? Does the South wish for the Negro in order to perfect its repression of the Negro? How may we understand ourselves when we proclaim the Negro a menace and still seek to in-

crease his numbers? Our inconsistency in this matter makes the South a laughing-stock, and justly so.

Let us trace the source of the ideals which proclaim the Negro a danger to the white race of the South, and also trace the source of the motives which cause the South to yearn for the Negroes now here to remain and for those away to return. Why is there such persistent support of the wavering color-line if the South does not wish to remain white? Why is there opposition to the separation of the races if the South does wish to remain white? Does not the South know that all race problems will have an ending and that there are but two possible endings?

With a full knowledge that the solutions of race problems are limited to separation and amalgamation, why does the South oppose separation? The reason is not deeply hidden. A limited number of whites profit by the presence of cheap Negro labor. These whites wish to retain the Negroes who are here and secure the return of those who have departed. These whites are the spiritual descendants of the greedy and selfish group which, in earlier days, fastened the Negro upon the South. Their interest is primarily in themselves and not in the white race. If they have an interest in the white race it is a secondary interest. It is this limited group of whites, always powerful, often dominant, which is at war with the race hopes and ideals of the White South.

The South's ideal of race purity, in conflict with the selfish demands of a limited class of

Southerners, causes the White South to appear as demanding race purity and at the same time demanding cheap Negro labor: both, if possible—in any case, cheap Negro labor. The dominance of this small group of Southerners has made the historical South appear to have deliberated between race integrity and cheap Negro labor and to have chosen the latter.

A dominant and greedy minority placed the Negro in our midst. A dominant and greedy minority seeks to retain the Negro in our midst. A partial mixing of the races has occurred, and mixing will continue. It is nothing to those whites who place present ease for themselves and their families above the welfare and purity of their race.

Observe the results of the White South's pandering to the selfish exactions of a dominant clique of "Negro-labor aristocrats," for whose satisfaction the Negro came and the Negro is retained. For the benefit of a privileged class, the great mass of the white population of the South has been compelled to compete with the Negro and the Negro's standards of living. For the benefit of a privileged few the state has foregone the material and spiritual advantages of having a wholly white population. In order that these men might reign in fancied aristocratic isolation, the nation now has twelve million Negroes.

The privileged few dominated the state and the mass of the white race who were not of the privileged few. None can say that the men of this group were not men of power. None can say that they did not use their power

for selfish ends. Religion, economics, and sentiment they directed to support their prestige and their policy. Exalted, they gave to themselves a glamor like unto a halo. Self-ennobled, they proclaimed themselves the *élite* of the White South, and in the presence of this race-destroying privileged clique the black South—and the white—bowed their heads.

We have noted the *rôle* of Greed in bringing the Negro to the South to labor for a few whites. We have noted the *rôle* of Lust, protected by the institution of slavery. We have noted the *rôle* of Fanaticism which placed the White South beneath the heel of the Black South. We have seen the play of these forces through three centuries, and we would be satisfied were this the end. But it is not the end! It is just a beginning, for thirty centuries are ahead of us and then an indefinite future.

We are confronted by a problem because of which the South clothed herself in sackcloth and ashes; but her humiliation has not brought relief. The struggle for white racial integrity has just begun. The South finds it necessary to enact drastic legislation to prevent the incoming of mixbreeds into white groups. And, in the present of a never-ending and often losing struggle to keep clean the race stock, which is the pride of our past and the hope of our future, the South of ideals and the South of courage angrily awakens to the consciousness that the greed and lust of a few whites have imperiled the race itself. Behold them! Dominant, exclusive—a Negro-labor aristocracy, pompously strutting across three hundred

years of the pages of Saxon history, boasting most of a Saxon past while doing most to destroy a Saxon future.

THE EIGHTY-FIVE PER CENT

The wilderness and the red savage receded before the strong arm of the advancing Saxon in a march that marks the greatest exploit of Saxon peoples in the conquest and occupation of alien countries. From small settlements on the shores of the Atlantic, the western march of the race, in two and a half centuries, brought it three thousand miles to the shores of the Pacific.

Unlike the Latins in South America, the Saxon settlers brought with them their women; and, in countless cabins in the depth of the forests, and, later, in sod huts on the plains, were born a numerous progeny of Saxon children—a pledge that the land was dedicated to the race that had redeemed it.

These pioneers were a mighty people with a mighty heritage—a Saxon heritage. “Varus! Varus! Give me back my legions!” came in vain from the lips of Augustus Caesar, for the armored legions of Rome had perished in a struggle with Saxon warriors in the gloom of the Teutoburg Forest. Rome’s advance to the north had been forever checked, and mongrels of the Roman world prevented from swarming into Old Saxony and diluting the blood of a strong race.

Crossing from the mainland to the British Isles, the Saxons gradually conquered and oc-

cupied the new land.* Jutes, Angles, Franks, Danes, Norse, and Normans, breeds closely related to the Saxon, came and blended their blood with that of the Saxon. Crushing the fleets of Spain and Holland, the British Island Saxon rose to supremacy of the seas.

Following upon their sea victory against Spain, the Anglo-Saxons began their colonization of the New World, founding thirteen colonies on the Atlantic coast. After these colonies had won independence from the mother-country a rapid migration of the colonials to the West began.

We are not primarily concerned with the Northern route of migration along which the splendid sons and daughters of Plymouth and related settlements beat back the red savage and stood at last upon the shore of the Pacific. Our interest is in the Southern route. Here, as in the Northern, white men and women pressed into the wilderness, subduing it, making it safe for those who were to follow. Coon-skin caps upon their brows, axe and rifle in their hands, the strong men and women of the Saxon race drove back the Indian, cleared

*The Saxons of the British Islands were designated "Anglo-Saxons" to distinguish them from the Saxons of the mainland. The Romans designated the coast now occupied by the Danes and Hollanders as "the Saxon shore." Charlemagne, at the head of the Franks and supported by many allies, in a series of wars covering a period of thirty years, defeated the Old Saxons in Western Germany. Unwilling to submit to the Franks, a remnant of the Saxons fled northward into Denmark, and their descendants were the instigators of the almost constant wars of the Danes against the French and the English. "England" is derived from "Angle-land." The ancient Britons were a brunet people. From this latter source the Anglo-Saxons acquired their brunet characteristics.

the forest, and claimed the land as a heritage for their children.

The people who pressed into the unknown West along both routes were essentially of one race. Pioneers of the Northern route would migrate to the new lands of the Southern route. Pioneers of the Southern route would cross to the Northern stream of migration. They intermingled and the one could not be distinguished from the other. Of one blood, of one tongue, experiencing similar dangers, enduring similar hardships, they dedicated the new lands to their race forever.

But let us see what happened to the pioneers of the Southern route. Following the forest trails hewed by the men who wore the coon-skin caps, there came a strange figure in Saxon history—a Saxon astride the neck of the lowly Negro. Greedy and dominant on the coast lands, this new type of Saxon, with economics based upon unpaid labor, and oftentimes with children from mothers who were not fair, pressed upon the heels of the men of his race who were clearing the wilderness. The newcomer implanted his slave economics in the land and ere long slave economics did for men of the Saxon breed what the sword of man had never done: dispossessed them of their heritage and pressed them back to sand hill and mountain peak, while from the fertile plains the lowly Negro, and the strange creature astride his neck, looked to the hills and called their inhabitants "poor whites."

Some pioneers of the Southern route re-emigrated, clearing other forests and dedicating

other heritages, but behind them remorselessly followed that strange figure in Saxon history, once more to dispossess them. Again, to escape, some pioneers of the Southern route went north by west and joined the Northern stream of pioneers which had already thrown off the parasite that was feeding upon the Negro. A Southern family, moving into the stream of Northern migration, produced a son who, in fullness of service to his race, was to "unhorse" the strange creature astride the Negro's neck.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN

Abraham Lincoln gave his lifelong aid to the Liberian colonization movement. He supported the American Colonization Society and witnessed the attacks upon it. He and Madison, Marshall, and Monroe were among those who believed that the Federal Government could legally assist colonization. But those who wished to prevent colonization set up the plea that Federal funds could not legally be used for this purpose, and President Monroe was criticized for furnishing a ship to assist in transporting Negroes to Africa.

Before his election, Lincoln had said, "There is a physical difference between the white and black races which I believe will forever prevent them living together on terms of social and political equality." Lincoln did not consider the Negro problem to be a political problem—one that could be solved by politics. He considered it a racial problem and favored its solution by the separation of the races, not by the mixing of the races.

Lincoln's Second Annual Message to Congress contained a plea for an Amendment to the Constitution which would remove all doubt as to the power of Congress to assist in colonization: "Congress may appropriate money and otherwise provide for colonizing free colored persons, with their own consent, at any place or places without the United States." As a war measure he asked for, and obtained, from Congress an appropriation to begin colonization. He found that most of the free Negroes whom he sought to interest in colonization were reluctant to volunteer. At this time the great mass of Negroes were slaves, and the weary President still believed that a voluntary migration could be carried through. Those whom he sought to interest were not typical of the Negro race, being in the main mixbreeds living in and around the National Capital who had been petted by the Garrisonian abolitionists to such an extent that they expected to find admission into the white race, and to escape laboring with their own race in the building of a nation.

When the armies of the Union were triumphant and the position of Lincoln was strengthened, he commissioned General Butler to give an estimate of the practicability of "exporting" the Negroes. The hand of a madman intervened and struck with a fatal blow the greatest advocate of a white America that the nation has produced. Lincoln wished to solve the Negro problem by giving the Negro a nation of his own, permitting each race to go its own way and work out its racial des-

tiny. The Congress which was to follow repudiated Lincoln's ideal of separation of the races and proceeded to legislate the political and social equality of the races and to make permanent these ideals in the Federal Constitution.

LIBERIA

We have seen that the colonials who wished to have a white commonwealth were strong enough to dominate the General Assembly of Virginia throughout the colonial period, but were unable to prevail against the league of Negro-buying white colonials and Negro-selling British aristocrats. Nor did American independence bring relief, for immediately the Negro-buying Southerner formed a league with the Negro-selling New Englander. The delegates to the Constitutional Convention were compelled to cater to the exactions of the slave-seller and the slave-buyer and legalized the slave traffic until 1808.*

But the white ideal was not abandoned, nor did selfish groups cease to oppose it. Following the outlawing of the slave-traffic from overseas, the advocates of the white ideal sought to institute a movement which would eventually return the American Negroes to the homeland of their ancestors, and establish them there in an orderly nation of their own. The movement for the colonization of the Negro was instituted by the ablest men the nation has produced. Madison, Bushrod Wash-

*The New England delegates to the Constitutional Convention were unanimously in favor of extending the slave traffic until 1808. Some of the Southern delegates opposed this extension.

ington, Monroe, Jefferson, Marshall, Clay, Webster, Lincoln and other great men came to the aid of the American Colonization Society.* The Society received many offers of slaves from slave owners who wished to have them returned to Africa. But when the existing economic depression was over fewer slaves were offered, for most of the slave-owners, who profited by slavery, were opposed to colonization. However, the deadly blow given the colonization movement did not come from the South. Colonization would have settled the Negro problem, and would have established the American Negroes in a nation of their own. The Garrisonian abolitionists opposed the colonization movement. They sought only to abolish slavery and colonization did not promise to quickly effect this purpose. Caught between the greedy slave-owner and the fanatical abolitionist, the American Colonization Society was compelled to abandon its work. It had, however, established the colony of Liberia on the West Coast of Africa. The fanatical slave-owner and the fanatical abolitionist plunged the nation into a civil war in which as many white men were killed or disabled as there were black men capable of bearing arms.

MARCUS GARVEY AND NEGRO AFRICA

Beneath his burden, the American Negro presented a pathetic spectacle. God had made the skies for all mankind to view. The Negro

*This organization still exists with headquarters at Washington, D. C.

could not look up. The ease of forcing him to look down had made of his race a slave race. But all Negroes are not of the same stamp. Among the slaves who endured the horrors of the Middle Passage were individuals whose spirit indicated that there was a hope for the race. Crowded in vile holes of the slave ships, most of the Negroes bowed their heads and silently endured their suffering. However, even in hopeless adversity, there were among the slaves individuals who refused to submit. These individuals the slavers found it convenient to let come to the deck for air.

I dedicated *Let My People Go* to "A black Negro making herculean effort to do for the Negro what the greatest of white Americans sought to do for the Negro and encouraged the Negro to do for himself—To Marcus Garvey, a martyr for the independence and integrity of the Negro race." Garvey is the type of Negro the slaver found expedient to let out of the hold of the ship to breathe the air of the deck. The Garvey movement is composed of Negroes who have come up for air.

When Abraham Lincoln had secured an appropriation from Congress to begin the colonization of Negroes already free, he sorrowfully complained that, though the Negroes were receiving their freedom by the sacrifice of the blood and treasure of the white race, he could not get them to come forward to sacrifice for their own race in building a nation of their own. Garvey and the greater number of his followers (members of the Universal Negro Improvement Association) represent the type

of manhood Lincoln sought. Those Negroes opposed to the Garvey ideals of race integrity and race independence represent the type of Negro of which Lincoln sorrowfully complained.

Garvey and those who follow him are not understood by the type of Negro the slaver could keep below deck. Those who could so easily be kept below deck have bred a progeny ashamed of their race. Timid, they do not wish to perpetuate their race but seek as individuals to lose themselves in the white race. Despising their heredity, they seek to inflict it upon the white man. This is the type of which true slaves are made. It is this type of Negro which clamors for miscegenation with the whites. It is this type which opposes a nation for Negroes. Their racial cowardice accentuates their individual presumptuousness, for, in the midst of a civilization which has issued from the genius of the white man, they whine when denied control over the things they did not produce.

Marcus Garvey was engaged in a crusade to arouse the Negro race to a consciousness of the fact that the slave history of the race would continue if the race did not fight its own battles and cease eating out of the hand of other races. Garvey wishes to use the Negroes of the New World in the redemption of the Negroes of Africa. He wishes to found in Africa a colony of American Negroes that may bear the torch of progress and marshall into a vast procession all the people of his race. His new gospel of race-integrity and

race-redemption gave him a great following among his people; but it made him bitter enemies among them as well, for Garvey wishes the Negro to remain a Negro and work out a Negro destiny.

The Universal Negro Improvement Association, of which Garvey is the head, sought to obtain concessions in Liberia. Liberia was founded by white Americans as a colony for American Negroes; but, before the American Colonization Society was formed, an American Negro, Paul Cuffe of Massachusetts, in his own ship and at his own expense, had sailed with American Negroes to the West Coast of Africa. White men came to the support of Cuffe and carried on the colonization initiated by him.

How different the career of Garvey! He and his associates asked no aid from white men. With their own funds they took steps to acquire locations in the sparsely settled lands of Liberia and had a waiting-list of three thousand or more courageous American Negroes, each of whom possessed a minimum of \$1,500. Confident that the locations could be secured, Garvey took steps to raise funds among Negroes with which to buy ships to trade among Negro peoples and to assist in carrying colonists to Africa. Garvey is now in the Federal Penitentiary near Atlanta, Georgia, convicted of violating the Federal Postal Laws through the raising of funds to establish the "Black Star Line" of steamships.

When Paul Cuffe began the colonization of Liberia, the greatest white men of his genera-

tion came to his support. When Marcus Garvey attempted to continue the colonization of Liberia, his enemies seized him. But most of his enemies are Negroes—Negroes who oppose Negro race-integrity and Negro nationality. They could not condemn him. They brought him to Herod for sentence. A white judge, a white jury, a white prosecutor tried Marcus Garvey and applied to him the white man's law, meting to him the fullness of its punishment both in fines and imprisonment. Garvey's writings, his speeches, and his followers proclaim him as struggling for a Negro nation and the redemption of Negro peoples. His enemies say that he violated a Postal Law. Today white men guard him in prison. But Garvey's solution of the Negro problem will save the white man in America as he intends it to save the black man in Africa. Surely Marcus Garvey is fighting the white man's battle without the white man's aid.

It is said that certain European nations now exploiting Africa objected to Garvey's colonists being placed on the frontier of their colonies. If these powers will turn their attention to the conservation of the white race in Europe and not gratuitously attempt to promote its amalgamation in America, they may find it not impossible for the white race to recover from the all but death blow it recently received in Europe. It is also worthy of consideration that the failure of the Liberian government to keep its agreement with the Universal Negro Improvement Association was followed quickly by an announcement

that certain American financial interests had taken a first step toward securing a ninety-nine-year lease upon a million acres of Liberian land for the purpose of producing raw rubber. It remains to be seen whether self-interested nations of Europe and self-interested financial groups of America will be able to prevent Liberia being used for the purpose for which it was founded.

It is immoral for the white race to attempt to maintain permanent dominion in Negro Africa. It is impracticable for the white colonies now in Negro Africa to maintain themselves there. It is too late in human history for the white man to ignore the inescapable issues of the race problem. The white man may shut his eyes and proceed as if his blindness would alter the situation, but his blundering steps will not change the nature of the problem he is creating in Negro Africa. Race problems are solved by the separation of the races or the amalgamation of the races. There are already half a million mixbreeds in one province in South Africa.

The white man might destroy the black in Africa. This would solve the white man's problem and make safe the future of his race. But the white man there will not destroy the black, for the black furnishes a bountiful supply of cheap labor. If the white race remains in Negro Africa, Rhodesia will be as negroid as Nubia in the days of Taharka,* and the Union of South Africa will be an Abyssinia of the South.

*Taharka was a mulatto Pharaoh. See WHITE AMERICA, chapters IV and V.

To aid the African Negro in his struggle upward, the white man should not oppose, but welcome, the migration of American Negroes to Africa. It is the duty of American Negroes to help those of their race in the homeland of their race. Lincoln and Clay, in their support of the colonization of Liberia, specifically pointed out this mission of the returned Negro. Colonization would forever settle the Negro problem in America and give the American Negro a chance to work out his racial destiny and become an example to all the backward races of mankind.

ISSUES WHICH CANNOT BE ESCAPED

The issues which confront us are the issues that confronted the white race in Ancient Egypt and Ancient India, and that now confront the white race in South Africa and Latin America. We may refuse to consider a race problem, but our refusal will not alter its nature. Race problems move on to solution, and there are but two possible solutions. Separation will save both races and will be welcomed by the members of both races who wish to maintain their heredity. Amalgamation will destroy both races and will be welcomed by the members of both races who wish to escape their heredity. We must choose—cannot avoid choosing—between separation and amalgamation.

It is true that some Negroes wish to mate with whites and that some whites wish to mate with Negroes. But millions of the black race

in America and tens of millions of the white race value their blood and would welcome an opportunity to work out a racial destiny, the one race not hindered by the presence of the other. There are other whites and blacks who say they do not want a solution of the American Negro problem, but desire that it continue. They do not know that race problems are eventually solved and that the mountain will be made low with the valley in the America of the future.

The White South must realize that it is confronted by a situation that threatens its existence. The colonization movement, which resulted in the founding of Liberia, received chief support in the South. The mass of white Southerners desire separation of the races, but they should not find relief in the belief that they can forcefully encourage the Negro to migrate to other parts of the nation. Such migration will not solve the South's problem; it is a vain hope. Mulattoes of the North would eventually return to the South just as mulattoes of the South now go to the North. The future must witness in the United States either a white nation or a negroid nation. If the South becomes mulatto the North will become negroid. If the North becomes mulatto the South will become negroid. The question before the white people of the nation is whether they shall give the Negro a home of his own or incorporate his blood.

A blind South was mainly responsible for fastening the Negro upon the nation. It is the mission of an awakened South to lead the

nation in removing this danger of the centuries from its people and atoning to the Negro for centuries of wrong to his race. The white people of the North will quickly support our efforts to solve the Negro problem by the separation of races. Northern sentiment has often condemned the South with its hand upon the throat of the Negro, but Northern people have never wished to see the mixing of the races in the South. The voice of Patrick Henry called the South to the aid of the North when political freedom was at stake. Leaders in the North will call the people of the North to the aid of the South in a cause in which the integrity of the white race in the future America is the issue.

THE DEFEATISTS

As a condition of leadership it will be necessary for the White South to fight a battle in its own territory. The South of ideals and the South of hope must crush beneath its heel the serpent of greed that counsels delay. It must crush beneath its heel the race perverts who cling to miscegenation. It must deal patiently but firmly with the New Southerners who, in a spirit of abject meekness weakly state that separation cannot take place and the amalgamation cannot be prevented. Lincoln said that what colonization most needed was "a will." Will is moral courage. Will does not lie down like a cringing cur in the presence of a danger it can master. These New Southerners are the spiritual descendants of Herman's brother, who on the eve of battle,

begged Herman to submit to Rome.* They are the descendants of the Saxons who cowered in the recesses of the forest while other Saxons were destroying the invading Roman army. They are the descendants of Englishmen who were fleeing to fen and moor while other Englishmen were maintaining for England the rulership of the seas. These Southerners are not kindred to those who formed a Stone Wall in front of Jackson at Bull Run or to those who lately broke the Hindenberg Line in Flanders.

It must be clear to the student of American history that the Southerners who hold that the South is opposed in the separation of the races and that there is nothing to do but permit the miscegenation of the races dwell in a fanciful world of their own creation. The white men of the nation who live apart from the South are not without intelligence. They see mix-breeds in every Southern community and know that there are but two solutions of a race problem. They know that if half of the nation becomes hybrid their own posterity will not escape. If they fight against us, they fight against their own descendants as well. The Negro problem is not a sectional problem. Men of the North were the last, not the first, to give up the effort to colonize the Negro. Lincoln and Grant sought to take steps to separate the races long after men of the South had ceased to labor for that cause. We are not to go before the nation with a program

*Herman was the leader of the Saxons who destroyed the Roman legions in the Teutoburg Forest. Roman historians refer to him as Arminius.

for the repression of the Negro but with one that carries with it the freedom for the Negro to develop the best that is in him.

We Southerners are responsible for many of the misunderstandings concerning us. Our millions of mixbreeds cause our color-line to be interpreted as an instrument for the repression of a people whom we are eventually to incorporate in our race. If we mix with the Negro how may we justify the color-line? The Negro has a moral right to escape from repression. The Negro has as much right to work out his racial destiny as the white man has a right to work out his racial destiny. If we shut the door which leads to absorption, and we must shut it or perish, and do not open the door which leads to separation, the world may rightly condemn us for attempting to devise a perpetual repression of the Negro.

Let us be done with hypocrisy. Let us be done with duplicity. Let the White South appear clean before mankind. In an attempt to retain the respect of other white groups, let us not whine "impossible to separate the races," while amalgamation continues. In our situation, to assert that we wish to remain a white people, while, at the same time, we make no effort to place our race in a position to realize our ideal, causes the world to question our motives or our ability.

THE AVERAGE CITIZEN

The average citizen feels an individual helplessness when he contemplates the separation of the races. The average citizen needs to

know that his part in the separation of the races will consist in his marking a ballot, giving his assent to empowering Congress to colonize the Negro. The average citizen needs to know that white people, with white standards of living, filling the void caused by the removal of the Negroes to a home of their own, will add greatly to the national wealth and compensate for the expense incurred in colonization. He needs to know that there is much rich soil and a sparse population generally throughout Negro Africa and that our Negroes, taking the locations which our government provides for them and improving those locations, will add greatly to the wealth of the returned Negro, who before leaving America would have been compensated for his property here. The average citizen also needs to know that, if the ships which brought immigrants to the United States in the decade prior to the World War had returned with Negroes to a new colony, there need not now be a Negro in the United States.

Colonization is entirely possible, possible within a decade, if locations have been provided and available transportation utilized. But colonization need not be hurried and may proceed by taking the young married couples and placing them in comfort in their new nation, where they will raise their children in their own country.* Both Lincoln and Jefferson said that colonization could be carried

*See Appendix II of *WHITE AMERICA*. A possible procedure for repatriation is there given, based upon Army experiences in concentrating and distributing millions of soldiers and civilians.

out within a generation, and the proportion of the Negro to the white population is now far more favorable than in their day, while the facilities for colonization at our disposal are immensely greater than those in the time of either Jefferson or Lincoln.

Colonization need not effect the older Negroes, though some of these would certainly wish to go. The more capable Negroes who advocate independence for the Negro, would be selected to direct the New Nation, and the race movement to the New Nation should be generally directed by men of the Negro race, not by white men.

FEMINISM

Apart from the effects of the Civil War and the War Amendments upon race amalgamation in the South, another force opposed to miscegenation has gathered strength—feminism. We do not believe that, if Southern women had possessed the privilege of suffrage, either concubinage or the more irregular sex-relations between white men and Negro women would have been overlooked by the white politicians. Abraham Lincoln in his first political discourses advocated women suffrage; he was far ahead of his time. However the increasing unwillingness of women to remain without a voice in the making of laws, under which they must live, had its effect upon the enactment of legislation long before they were enfranchised.

With the vote now at the disposal of white women, what white Southern politician with

a black mistress or a mulatto family will have the courage to run for office? And what politician would fail to stand for race-integrity, in theory at least, when he now appeals for political support? The type of Southern man who could not be restrained from amours with colored women, by love of race, by self-respect, or by the entreaties of his own women, now meets changed conditions, for both law and public opinion have been powerfully reinforced as agencies for race-integrity, since women have become voters.

White women bred white children and maintained the white race in the South during the miscegenation era; but white women must understand that the struggle for race-integrity during the past three centuries is but a prelude to the struggle for race integrity in the future. Miscegenation has not ceased. The incorporation of near-whites into the white race is actually on the increase. The South is not successful in repelling this invasion and the conditions in the North are far less satisfactory. The Negro in his increasing millions is still in our midst, and there are but two solutions of race problems.

WHITE LABOR*

"Reduce the supply of black labor by colonizing the black laborer out of the country, and

*The author of this thesis is aware that the white laboring class of America bears a great burden resulting from the presence of the Negro in the nation and that the solution of the Negro problem will depend upon the attitude taken by white labor. He is preparing a discussion of white labor and the Negro problem which will amplify and apply the position outlined in Chapter XI of *WHITE AMERICA*.

by precisely so much you increase the demand for, and wages of, white labor."—Abraham Lincoln; Second Annual Message to Congress. Colonize the Negroes "at some place or places cogenial to them. . . . If it be said that the only legitimate object of acquiring territory is to furnish homes for white men, this measure effects that object; for the emigration of colored men leaves additional room for white men remaining or coming here."—Abraham Lincoln: First Annual Message to Congress.

In *WHITE AMERICA*, Chapter XI, I have discussed the economic problems of civilizations in contact with colored races. That book was not written until I had made a study of the white race in contact with colored races on all the continents. During the course of the study I dwelt for three years in Africa, traveling more than five thousand miles overland and seeing much of the coast. In writing upon the economic situation I was able to draw upon my own experiences as an underground workman in diamond and gold mines of Africa.

The scope of this treatise does not permit a lengthy discussion of the depressing influences of colored labor on white labor in this country or elsewhere. It is sufficient to state that white labor everywhere and at all times suffers when in competition with colored labor. There are in all countries where colored labor is obtainable, groups of white men who employ colored workmen, often to the exclusion of white workmen. With the cruelty of monsters these white men require the laborers of their own race to compete with low standards of living. For

their own personal profit, they force men of their own blood to abandon the advantages which two thousand years of progress have rightly given the white laborer.

In America, the employers of Negro labor do not wish for their laborers to live near them. With the blood of white labor upon their hands, the dominant whites, like Cain, angrily exclaim, "Am I my brother's keeper?" when reminded that their Negroes whom they wish for servants but not for neighbors, live by and intermingle with the poorer whites.

Many Southerners, who cling to Negro labor, say that if the Negro is removed from the South, "low class foreigners" will take the place of the Negro, and that the South would be better off with the Negro than it would be with poor whites from Europe. The present Negro-labor aristocracy in the South has historical precedent in holding poor whites in low esteem, for their colonial forbears did the same, preferring Negroes even to poor whites of the Saxon race. Italians, Russians, Hungarians, Greeks, Serbs, Slovaks, Jews, Armenians, and other peoples and nationalities of the white race, were given to understand that our restrictive immigration laws were based upon the fact that America was becoming congested and that restrictive measures were necessary but that they were so framed as to be less severe upon those white nations whose nationals did most to establish the Republic. It has remained for the Negro-labor aristocracy of the South to class the non-Saxon whites as less desirable than the Negro. The

"low class foreigners" who to our Negro-labor aristocracy are "less desirable than the Negro" will feel a community of interest with the white Southerners who purpose to eliminate from the South the race-destroying program of its Negro-labor aristocracy.

The colonization of the Negro will relieve the white laborer and will give the Negro the full advantage of his ability. Another race will not have first choice of the offices and jobs in the New Nation. And the nation the Negro leaves will give to the white laborer the right to toil within his own country for a remuneration not affected by the presence of laborers of an alien race.

THAT NIPPLE

A Negro minister in a Southern State, after reading "Let My People Go," wrote to me, thanking me for assisting those Negroes who want a nation of their own. Referring to his fellow-ministers, he said that many of them hesitated to support the cause of Negro independence and nationality because the Negro churches contained members who were opposed to Negroes making an effort to govern themselves and wished for their race to continue to rely upon the white man, and that these members had it in their power to make uncertain the ministers' remuneration. Of these brothers of the cloth, the minister said, "He do not want to turn loose that nipple."

For three hundred years the South has shown that it does not want to turn loose the "nipple" of cheap Negro labor. For that "nipple" it has fought. For that "nipple" it

has seen millions of mixbreeds rise up in its midst. And after three hundred years, there are Southerners who would see the last white man in the South disappear in the vortex of miscegenation before they would voluntarily "turn loose that nipple."

The white woman of the South who has no concern for the future of the white race in the South as long as the Negress appears to prepare the white woman's breakfast, is feeding from the "nipple" of Negro labor. This type of white woman is far more interested in ease for her body than in welfare for her race. The white man who will not employ a white man to work if he can secure a Negro to work for cheaper wage is feeding from the "nipple" of Negro labor. These individuals will not voluntarily release the "nipple" from which they are feeding. But they can be choked loose; and the white laborer of the South, remembering generations of pitiless competition forced upon himself and his children, stretches forth a strong right hand and waits the signal to take the grip.

THE MISCEGENATIONISTS

Sane, intelligent action is required to secure the separation of the races. The race respecting members of both races are greatly in the majority, but those who would mix the races have advantages which give them hope. They are confronted by a color-line, but this they feel can be endured, for they know that the color-line has not prevented widespread mixing of the races, and they know as well that there are

States in the Union that do not have a legal color-line.

The difficulty does not arise from the number of miscegenationists but from the fact that they are entrenched in politics, religion, and economics. The miscegenationists plead "citizenship," "brotherhood," "cheap labor." But the Negro problem is a biological problem and cannot be solved by "citizenship," "brotherhood," or "cheap labor." Citizenship has been tried and not solved the Negro problem. Brotherhood has been tried and not solved it. Cheap labor has been tried and not solved it. The forces that have failed to solve the problem are being used by the miscegenationists to continue the problem until it will be solved at last by the mixing of the races.

The miscegenationists are entrenched within and behind existing institutions which favor their program and from which they will have to be driven. This can be done. It can be done by the simple expedient of empowering Congress to set up a nation for the Negroes and to proceed with colonization.

THOSE WHO OPPOSE ANY FORM OF SOLUTION OF THE NEGRO PROBLEM

"Where two distinct species are located side by side, history and biology teach that but one of two things can happen; either one race drives the other out, as the American exterminated the Indians and as the negroes are now replacing the whites in various parts of the South; or else they amalgamate and form

a population of race bastards in which the lower type ultimately predominates. This is a disagreeable alternative with which to confront sentimentalists, but nature is only concerned with results and neither makes nor takes excuses. The chief failing of the day with some of our well meaning philanthropists is their absolute refusal to face inevitable facts, if such facts appear cruel. . . . If the purity of the two races is to be maintained, they cannot continue to live side by side, and this is a problem from which there can be no escape."—Madison Grant, *The Passing of the Great Race*.

We may assume that possibly all biologists know that races held side by side will mix. The mixing may not be a matter of concern to the biologist, but he is aware of the operation of the inexorable processes which lead to the mixing. However, the historian, by no means has given us the assurance that he has learned history as the biologist has learned biology. The White South may well question the qualifications of a teacher of history who does not know that if races are held together they will eventually mix. In our situation in the South, if the teacher knows that races held side by side will mix, and withholds this knowledge from his pupils, leaving them with the belief that the American color-line will succeed though all other color-lines in history have failed, we have added incentive to question the qualifications of the teacher to deal with race problems.

The teacher of history who deals with race

problems should first of all define their nature. They arise from friction caused by variations in heredity and will continue until mixing removes the variations in heredity or until separation makes impossible the friction between the heredities. The teacher has at his disposal some six thousand years of written history containing examples of race problems having been solved, while the race problems that have not been solved are now in visible process of solution. The teacher that does not tell his pupils that a mulatto inherited the throne of the Pharaoh's and that the caste system of present India is the futile and debased relic of the white man's color-line in ancient India, fails to make use of data of the greatest value. The teacher who does not give information concerning the mixing of the races in South Africa, despite the color-line of the Dutch and the English, is hardly qualified to deal with the color-line in the United States. The teacher that does not impress his students with the fact that the color-line has been abandoned in many places in Latin America, fails to shed light upon the path that is being followed by the United States.

Those whites who oppose a nation for our Negroes where they may have the fullness of liberty to develop their race and its institutions, promise us that if we will leave the Negroes in the South to continue in the service of a limited number of Southerners, all will be well with our race. They say that they oppose a solution of the Negro problem either by separation or amalgamation. They tell us that

they need the Negro and that if we will permit them to retain the Negro they will guarantee the purity of the white race unto the remotest generations.

These whites tell us that they will forever keep the Negro beneath the color-line for they are afraid to tell us that they will bring the Negro to or above the color-line. The Negro questions them if they purpose to keep him beneath the color-line. The whites question them if they purpose to remove the color-line. Opposed by the one or the other of the races in any program they may devise they counsel us to be silent upon the race problem and that God will settle it for us.

They propose continual readjustments between the races; that when confusion occurs over the color-line a small adjustment will result in interracial harmony. They ask us to endure these turmoils forever that they may retain the Negro.

But these whites though they prove capable of retaining the Negro in cheap servitude for some generations cannot guarantee to our race that the hideous god of mongrelization that presided over Egypt and India will not claim America. Yet if they did not make this promise they would be scorned by the White South! However, let us believe that their selfish interest has blinded them to reason, and not believe that they maliciously purpose to destroy us.

THE NEGRO

I wrote *Let My People Go* in order to give support to the type of Negro Abraham Lincoln sought when he had secured appropriations

from Congress with which to begin colonization. In it I say, "Shame to white America that did not come to the assistance of Garvey! Shame to the whites who bewail the necessity for a color line but supported not this great opportunity to be rid of it by giving the Negro a country of his own. With millions of black Negroes acclaiming him, ready to follow him, one stern word from white America would have silenced the mongrels who set upon him. One word of hope from white America would have rallied other millions of blacks to his cause. But the words were not spoken, and Garvey, bending beneath his load as he picked his way through the intricate mazes of the white man's law, stumbled, and his enemies seized him.

"You Negroes who seek independence for your race and a home in the land of your ancestors, hold fast to your purpose! Your leader, in prison, may prove a mightier aid than your leader, free. The problem which you seek to escape is a white man's problem as well as a black man's problem. White men who wish to solve the problem will come to the aid of you black men who wish to solve it and the consciousness that your leader is in prison as a result of his effort to pay white men for a ship with which to transport black men to Africa, will not be the least of the factors which will cause white men to rally to your support. The Negro was brought from Africa in the white man's ships. If he were forced to come in the white man's ships, justice requires that he be permitted to return

in the white man's ships. The Negro did not have to buy ships to come from Africa to serve us in America and we who have received his service should not expect him to buy ships to return to Africa to serve himself there. He received free transportation coming to servitude and it is our purpose that he receive free transportation going to liberty.

"White America does not yet realize that the Negro problem is a biological problem, that it is not a problem of environment but of race. White America has yet to realize that the color problem will exist as long as the color line exists and that the color line cannot be removed except by mixing the races or by separating them. White America has yet to grasp the truth that democracy can no more solve a race problem than can monarchy, unless democracy does more than monarchy in securing the one or the other of the two possible forms of the solution of the problem.

"We shall seek to arouse white America! Do the white men who oppose the mixing of the races, and, at the same time oppose the separation of the races, wish the Negro problem to continue forever? If not, when do they propose to solve it, and by what method? Has the white man devised the color line for his pleasure or for his protection? Will not the separation of the races give better protection than the color line, which has not prevented 3,000,000 mixbreeds? Lincoln said that separation of the races was the only perfect preventive of amalgamation of the races. Do the opponents of separation not wish a perfect

preventive of amalgamation? If the white man preaches race integrity, and opposes the only means of maintaining it—shall we credit him with stupidity or duplicity? The great trouble is that the white man has not thought clearly on the Negro problem; for him Darwin has not lived, nor Mendel! But he is beginning to think clearly.

"Your hope of a nation can be realized when the white man sees that by assisting your race he will thereby assist his own race, that a nation for you and the blood integrity of your race will give to the white man a nation of his own and the blood integrity of his race. By saving you the white man will save himself and he cannot save himself without saving you. It matters little which of the two races we seek to preserve, for in preserving the one we will by the same act preserve the other. Never was there a clearer issue, and never was there an issue more potent to enlist the best elements of both races.

"Our mission is to enlist the active support of those who wish to settle the Negro problem forever—not by the mixing of the races, but by giving the Negro a home of his own. This solution can best be obtained through an amendment to the Federal Constitution essentially the same as that proposed to Congress by Abraham Lincoln in his Second Annual Message to that body. I have told you of the difficulties experienced by the white organizations in founding Liberia. You know of your own difficulties. But our government will not have difficulty either at home or

abroad; for our nation is not weak, as our volunteer organizations have proved to be, but has immense resources and power. 'Slackers' and outright opponents of separation, like those who have thwarted the good purposes of individuals and organizations, will receive proper treatment when they oppose the Federal Government.

"I do not know how soon such constitutional amendment can be secured, but I do know that if the white men who wish their race to remain white and the black men who wish their race to remain black work in unison and attack, always attack, the miscegenationists, America can be aroused to a consciousness that the problem need not go on forever but can be settled with justice and honor once for all.

"Then let us force the issue, in public, in private, and in print, and drive the miscegenationists from cover. Every attack upon those who would mix the races will draw to our ranks multitudes of those who would separate them. If we fight we cannot fail to win. Let us fight!

"We of the white race who wish to preserve our race pledge you black men our support. We who wish a white nation will aid you in building a black nation. We aid you primarily because we wish a white nation. But we have a genuine sympathy with you in your desire for a black nation.

"We ally ourselves with you in this struggle, however long it may last, and, we who are thus allied, should prove our sympathy with each other by mutual tolerance and mutual aid.

"We know that each day brings with it a nation-wide friction along the color line. We ally ourselves to reduce this friction, not as the miscegenationists, but as men proud of race and determined to maintain it. The contact of our races brings with it many annoyances, but there is scarcely one that cannot be swept aside if we meet each other with a consciousness that we labor together to secure conditions which will remove all difficulties that arise from the contact of our races.

"We should prove to the nation that we represent the best of both races. Our acts, each toward the other, should be in accord with the high ideals which we profess. We white men should be first to condemn a white man who wrongs a member of your race. You black men should be first to condemn a black man who wrongs a member of our race. And all of us should seek to bring offenders to justice.

"We should by every means oppose the mixing of the races whether by concubinage or by marriage. We should seek to secure legislation throughout the nation which will make unlawful any form of race mixing, the penalties for violating the law being applicable equally to the whites as to the blacks. Such law will greatly weaken our opponents—the miscegenationists, racial renegades,—for it will make more difficult their program and lessen their hope of bartering their birthright of race.

"Let us labor without ceasing; for we labor for a holy cause. We who wish to solve the Negro problem are better citizens than those who wish to continue it. We who wish to

preserve race are better men than those who wish to destroy it.

"We whites who work with you say to you, have courage. Fight on! No race has ever suffered as your race, suffered in subjection to others. Though enslaved on every continent you have always had your eyes turned to your homeland. Fight on until the shores your ancestors left in despair welcome you with acclaim."

To the race-respecting Negro who wants a chance in the world for his race, wants it to stand on its own feet and cease feeding out of the hand of other races, wants it to struggle upward as the white race has struggled, our assistance is all that will be required. These Negroes view the "advantages" said to have accrued to their race through the Middle Passage (probably more than a million slaves died en route to America) and the slavers' lash. They view the "advantages" that have accrued to the black man in freedom in America and are desirous of risking the "disadvantages" which some white men say they will have in a nation of their own without the overlordship of the white man.

But there is another type of Negro to be dealt with—the type of which Lincoln complained. They will not struggle with their people but wish to mix their blood with the whites. They consider themselves the *élite* of the Negro race, but in reality they constitute the refuse of the Negro race. They wish to remain with us, to continue the Negro problem in America while courageous Negroes are

solving their own problem by building a nation in Africa. These racial renegades, however, will not be difficult to direct, for those who despise their own blood and have no hope for their race are cowards at heart and essentially of the slave type of mind.

THE CHURCH: A WHITE WIFE FOR A BLACK CONVERT

When the Portuguese explored the West Coast of Africa during the decade prior to the discovery of America, an African chief offered to become a Christian and lead his people to Christ, if the Portuguese would bring him a white wife. The Portuguese made the bargain. The white wife came, and Christianity spread far and near. Today a great proportion of the Portuguese population is negroid; while in Africa the Christianity implanted by the white wife has disappeared.

We commend this incident to the earnest study of those white Christians in the Southern States who lend the Christian church and its influence to retain the Negro in the South. The Southern people who wish the Negro to remain in the South have the same selfish ends to serve as the Southern people who established the Negro in the South. The Christian church was prostituted by the slave-trader and the slave-owner, and we protest against its continuing in the service of a greedy few who profit by cheap Negro labor.

The most subtle, as it is the most dangerous, miscegenationist trend in the South at the present time operates under the cloak of Chris-

tianity. In the presence of a biological problem the church falsely proclaims that it can furnish a solution of the problem. A race problem cannot be solved by religion. If the church succeeds in building up a population of 50,000,000 Negroes (all good Christians) in the South, does the church suppose that there will be no race problem in the South?

The race problem will continue in the South as long as white mothers breed white children and black mothers breed black children, whether the mothers and their children are agnostics or theists. Many Christians, white and black, realize this, and, as they are urged to come together, ever closer, they look forward through the centuries and feel a doubt as to the future of their race. If the church wishes to serve the Negro race, let it work to place the Negro in a nation of his own where he will have opportunity to develop, without interference from another race, the powers which God has given him. The Christian Church, of all institutions, should support the Negro in his aspirations for national freedom; but it cannot do this and at the same time cater to the greedy white man who strives to retain the Negro beneath a color-line forever. The Christian Church should be the first, not the last, to support the solution of the Negro problem by the separation of the races.

The Methodist Church, before its ranks were split by a slave-owning bishop, held aloft the ideal of Negro nationality and Negro progress. In 1851 the Methodist Church reported on Liberia: "All eyes are turned toward this new

republic on the western coast of Africa, as a star of hope to the colored people, both bond and free, in the United States." Presbyterian, Baptist, Protestant Episcopal, and other denominations were equally interested in supporting the solution of the Negro problem by the separation of the races. Within ten years from the time the Methodist Church declared that Liberia was the star of hope for the colored people of the United States, the great Civil War had begun, the bloodiest war, in proportion to the number engaged, in the recorded history of mankind. The rabid slave-owner and the rabid abolitionist in a generation of wrangling over the Negro had precipitated a struggle involving constitutional principles which drew other whites to their respective standards. The colonization of Liberia would have settled the Negro problem. The Civil War did not settle it. The Negro problem cannot be settled by war.

The eyes of the world should be turned to the Christian Church of the South, expecting from this institution leadership in a program which will settle the Negro problem, remove it from the South and give to the Negro the opportunity he must have, if he is to achieve his racial destiny, and give to the White South a future in which it shall remain white. When the Southern Church takes such step it will quickly receive support from the Northern Church and the nation will witness organized Christianity maintaining the races as God made them, and not catering to Greed which would hold the Negro in the nation and

to Lust which would amalgamate the races. We have no doubt that the church of the South will support nationality for the Negro, but we would be pleased to believe that the Southern Church will lead the South in realizing this ideal, not follow the leadership of others.

THE SOUTHERN PRESS

The trained minds employed by the Southern newspapers can interpret, without offense to either race, the issues which inhere in the Negro problem. They can do this quickly. They will do it if instructed by those who own the newspapers and direct their policy.

Newspapermen know that the Negro problem is a biological problem and that, because of its basic nature, it will continue until finally settled by the separation of the races or the amalgamation of the races. In the midst of miscegenation, the silence of the Southern press upon the solution of the problem by the separation of the races requires consideration. Is it because we are doomed to amalgamation that the press will not lead the fight for separation? "News" is what the press demands. If the Southern press would announce that it does not fight for the separation of the races because the South is doomed to become mulatto—would not this announcement be "news"? If the Southern press would announce that it will lead the fight for the solution of the Negro problem by separation of the races and not by its silence promote the solution of the problem by amalgamation—would not this announcement be "news"? Or, if the Southern

press would announce that it does not wish any solution of the Negro problem, but wishes for the problem to continue forever—would not this announcement be "news" of the first order? Some newspaper man is overlooking a "scoop."

The seeming unwillingness of the Southern newspapers* to discuss the inescapable issues of the Negro problem, may arise, in large measures, from the fact that the Negro is a "vested interest" to those who profit by Negro labor. Those who profit by Negro labor and are unwilling to give up the Negro constitute a small group of Southerners, selfish and greedy, who look to their personal interests and that of their children, and ignore the call of their race. The White South must crush this group and release the Southern press from any dominion which it may have established over the press. Those who wish to make the South white would surely succeed if aided by the Southern press; it should not by its silence continue to be an aid for those who will make the South mulatto.

A sane discussion of the nature of race problems, and a sane and constitutional program for the solution of our Negro problem by the separation of races, supported by the Southern newspapers, would appeal to the great mass of Americans; within a generation the Negro's children would have a nation of their own and the white man's children a nation of their own. Either this or a mulatto South! If the

*Some of the Southern editors have discussed the solution of the Negro problem by the separation of the races.

Southern press, or any portion of it, opposes the solution of the problem herein openly proclaimed as necessary for the White South to survive, let the press as openly state what solution of the problem it does or will support.

STONE MOUNTAIN

Race problems will be solved. San Domingo was the first land viewed by Columbus in his search for India. It became the first of the Spanish colonies in the New World. The San Domingo colonials imported Negro labor from Africa. Today, in San Domingo, the statue of the great explorer who discovered the island, stands in the midst of a mulatto population.

It is incongruous to worship the past and at the same time to deride the future. It is incongruous for the White South to carve a memorial in everlasting granite to commemorate its mighty past, a memorial, which, to the future Southerner, crisp-haired and thick-lipped, will be as unintelligible as were the records of Ancient Egypt to the mongrel descendants of the Pharaohs. It is not a granite mountain but the racial germ plasm which is to preserve forever the greatness of the White South. To make a fetish of the racial past while debasing the racial germ plasm indicates a loss of the sense of relative values, and bodes ill for the future of the race.

THE NECESSARY AMENDMENT

After the death of Lincoln, Congress, instead of passing the amendment to the Constitution recommended to that body by Lin-

coln, devised other amendments. Lincoln wished to give the Negroes a nation of their own. Congress, instead of giving the Negro a government of his own, gave him the control of the governments of his late master. Lincoln wished to solve the race problem by the separation of the races and give to each of them the opportunity to develop their best qualities, the one undisturbed by the presence of the other. Congress opposed Lincoln's plan for preserving both races and, as a first step toward the final mixing of the races, legislated equality of the races. *Not*

Probably there is not a member of the present Congress who does not know that Lincoln was right in holding that the Negro problem is a biological problem, not a political problem. It is difficult for us to understand that a Congress which many people now living may remember, could believe, if it did believe, that a race problem could be settled by politics. "Democracy can no more settle a race problem than can monarchy, unless democracy does more than monarchy in securing one or the other of the two possible forms of the solution of the problem," neither of which is political, the one being spatial or geographical, the other biological.

Lincoln wished to use politics to secure the separation of the races. Congress repudiated Lincoln's solution and utilized its powers toward amalgamating the races. But Congress's plan for equalization and amalgamation was opposed by the voters of many States of the North, and, to secure the Reconstruction

Amendments, Congress was compelled to seize the States of the South, two years after the Civil War had ended, remove the whites from the government of these States and place the Negroes in charge. Only by such means was Congress able to repudiate its martyred leader.

There is a nation-wide, unquestioned, moral doubt, and there is a serious legal doubt, as to the validity of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments to the Constitution. Initial steps have recently been taken to test their legality. The Thirteenth Amendment, which freed the slaves, stands unquestioned, for it was freely assented to by the States. However, if it is determined that the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments are invalid, having been enacted by fraud and violence, and that they are not a part of the fundamental law of the nation, such a decision will not solve the Negro problem.

To realize the ideal of separate nationality held by race-respecting members of both races, we shall have to substitute Lincoln's plan for that of Congress, as Congress substituted its plan for that of Lincoln. This can be done. It can be done with little effort, for probably nine-tenths of the people of the United States do not wish a final solution of the Negro problem by amalgamation. Any program which is to preserve both races will not be opposed except by those who desire to preserve neither race, but to create from the two races a negroid American population.

The need is to give the nation a just appraisement of a race problem. The nation

needs to know that race problems eventually are solved and that there are but two forms the solution may take. Those engaged in disseminating such knowledge will be accused, at first, of needlessly stirring up racial strife. But silence concerning a race problem does not change its nature, and by its very nature it works itself out to solution. Silence will ensure the solution through miscegenation. Discussion will insure the solution through separation. The miscegenationists demand silence, the separationists demand an open discussion of the issues involved in failing to colonize the Negro. Those who create sentiment in favor of separation will find encouragement in Lincoln's declaration "With public sentiment nothing can fail; without public sentiment nothing can succeed. Consequently he who moulds public sentiment goes deeper than he who enacts statutes or pronounces decisions. He makes statutes and decisions possible or impossible to be executed."

As stated above, President Lincoln, in his Second Annual Message to Congress proposed an amendment to the Constitution: "Congress may appropriate money and otherwise provide for colonizing free colored persons, with their own consent, at any place or places without the United States." In the same message, when discussing the presence of the Negro in the nation, he had said, "Our strife pertains to ourselves—to the passing generation of men; and it can without convulsion be hushed forever with the passing of one generation." Lincoln was dealing with many Negroes just

freed by the Union Armies, and was looking forward to the freeing of others. We have seen that, when he had secured a war appropriation of money with which to begin colonization, the particular type of Negro in and near Washington, D. C., would not volunteer. It was at that time that he sorrowfully complained that though the Negro was receiving his freedom through the sacrifice of the blood and treasure of the white race, he could not find Negroes who were willing to sacrifice for their own race. Lincoln believed, however, that they could be encouraged to undertake to govern themselves.

Lincoln's proposed amendment should be repropoed, changing only "free colored persons" to "persons of African descent," for there are now no slaves and "free colored persons" was a popular term for the Negroes who were free while others were slaves.

Certainly more than half of the Negro race will now welcome an opportunity to struggle for their race in a nation of their own. Those Negroes who will not struggle for advancement with Negroes in a nation of Negroes would remain in America to continue the race problem here. If we are to keep any, it would be better to keep those who have manhood enough to rely upon their own race. And those who wish a nation will understand us if we should remove Lincoln's "with their consent" from his proposed amendment. The Negroes who demand a separate nation will not be aggrieved by an amendment which will enable us to be forever done with the Negro

problem in our nation as they hope to be forever done with the white problem in the nation they are to found.

THE NORTH'S PART

The part played by the North in the mongrelization of the nation has been well portrayed by able Northerners. Here we will but briefly outline the race errors made by men of the North.

Northern slave traders and allied groups, such as ship builders and cotton manufacturers, actuated by the motive of greed, supported the Southern slave owner and rendered the White South incapable of realizing its ideals. The alliance between the Southern slave owner and his Northern supporters caused the Constitution of the United States to recognize slavery and to grant a definite extension of time to the slave trading interests. I know of no other way in which the South could have obtained representation in the lower branch of Congress, based upon three-fifths of its slaves, except by an alliance between the slave owner and his Northern supporters.

At a later date, Northern manufacturers combed the world for immigrants of inferior types to bring to the United States to break the American Labor Unions and do crude work for a cheap wage. This stage of mongrelization was supported by the theory of the "Melting Pot." White labor was unable to make much headway against the race-destroying industrialists. The industrialists proclaimed that the existing national institu-

tions would "Americanize" all that came and that though the future American would not be, racially, the same as those who had founded the nation, he would be, in all respects, as capable.

A powerful group of Northern intellectuals came to the aid of white labor. They showed the fallacy of the "Melting Pot" theory. They were able to convince the American people that the greed of the industrialists would not place the nation in position to escape the operation of natural laws. The intellectuals supported white labor in its opposition to unselected immigrants; our present immigration laws are the result of these groups working for the same end. The ruthlessly selfish can be broken by such an alliance; the hopes of a people can be realized through such an alliance.

Apart from the share of the men of the North in bringing Negroes to America, we have already noted the apparently unforeseen result of the Civil War which released the Negro from his segregation in the South and encouraged his distribution throughout the nation. The greatest error the North has made was in permitting Congress to repudiate Lincoln's plan for the solution of the Negro problem.

Lincoln's position on the Negro problem was known throughout the North. Both he and his political opponent, Douglas, the one the leader of Republicans, the other the spokesman for the Democrats of the North, explicitly declared themselves as favoring a white race in a white nation. We cannot doubt that these two great leaders expressed the prevailing

ideals of the mass of the Northern people. Let us here contrast the ideals and plans of Lincoln with the ideals and plans of the Congress which seized control of the Government, following the assassination of Lincoln.

**LINCOLN'S IDEAL OF A
WHITE RACE IN A
WHITE NATION**

"I will say, then, that I am not, nor ever have been, in favor of bringing about in any way the social and political equality of the white and black races—that I am not, nor ever have been, in favor of making voters or jurors of negroes, nor of qualifying them to hold office, nor to intermarry with white people; and I will say in addition to this that there is a physical difference between the white and black races which I believe will forever forbid the two races living together on terms of social and political equality. And inasmuch as they cannot so live, while they do remain together there must be the position of superior and inferior, and I, as much as any other man, am in favor of having the superior position assigned to the white race." —Speech at Charleston, Ill., September 18, 1858.

Early in his administration, Lincoln asked for and received from Congress a fund with which to begin colonization of the Negro. The right of Congress to appropriate money for this purpose had been questioned. Lincoln therefore, in his Second Annual Message to Congress, proposed an amendment to the Constitution which would enable Congress to appropriate money and otherwise provide for Colonization.

**CONGRESS'S IDEAL OF
A MONGREL RACE
IN A MONGREL
NATION**

The Fourteenth Amendment (proposed by Congress to the Legislatures of the several States, June, 1869):

"1. All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside. No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States: etc."

(The Fourteenth Amendment is lengthy, containing, in part, a restatement of provisions found elsewhere in the Constitution.)

The Fifteenth Amendment (proposed by Congress, February, 1869):

"1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude."

"2. The Congress shall have power to enforce the provisions of this article by appropriate legislation."

The history of politics furnishes few instances in which the leader of a political party has been as completely repudiated by his party as was Abraham Lincoln. The identical things he said he was opposed to doing, with the Negro, the party which he had led to victory proceeded to do.

WHY THE NORTH SAW RED

At Appomattox Grant had issued rations to the famished soldiers of Lee and permitted them to take to their homes the horses of Lee's army with which to till the soil. Sherman, who had devastated much of the South, was more lenient with the army of Johnston even than Grant had been with the army of Lee. Few victors have accorded a conquered army the generosity and consideration that the Confederate army received from Sherman and Grant.

The Union had been preserved, the slaves freed, the slave-power crushed. The North was satisfied. Lincoln came to Richmond and when asked what should be the treatment accorded the subjugated people exclaimed, "Let 'em up easy. Let 'em up easy." His attitude was in keeping with his declaration made but two months before when he had said "with malice toward none, with charity for all." Lincoln, Grant, and Sherman were making a conquest in Southern hearts which never could have been accomplished by bayonets.

In the fate of the South there now intervened a man who had declared himself in sympathy with the Confederacy but whose

sympathy had not led him to endure the hardships or brave the dangers known to the Confederate soldier. Following the death of Lincoln there came rumors of laws being enacted by the late slave states, effecting vagrants, of provisions for contract labor, and other regulations effecting the laborer and his employer. The North was led to believe that the ex-slave owner was attempting to do by duplicity that which he had failed to do by force—retain the Negro in servitude. Congress then sought to make the Negro a citizen and have his citizenship protected by the Federal Government. This desire was embodied in the Fourteenth Amendment. At a later date Congress wished to provide the Negro with the ballot with which to protect himself. This desire led to the Fifteenth Amendment. A race problem has political phase and with this phase of the problem Congress had dealt accurately, with far seeing judgment. But race problems cannot be solved by laws.

Laws which tend to promote the mixing of the races are instrumental in securing a solution of the problem, but it is the mixing of the races that solves the problem, not the laws. Laws which encourage or compel races to separate are instrumental in securing solution of race problems, but it is separation which solves the problem, not the laws.

Had the Congress, which gave to the Negro equality with the white man in the control of a civilization which has proceeded from the white man, used its powers and energy to secure the passage of Lincoln's proposed

amendment, America would now be a white nation while the Congress which had made the nation white would be venerated by every generation.

We Southern people have rightly acclaimed the purpose and most of the methods used by white Southerners in their effort to free the South from the dominion of the Negro and his "Carpetbag" master. The Ku Klux Klan and other extra legal agencies that were operating during the Reconstruction had a part, a noble part, in reconstituting white control. But they were wholly inadequate to throw off the rule of the "Carpetbagger" had he continued to receive support from the North, for the North had veterans at its disposal who had proved invincible. In the North there was a force being felt which was to prove itself more potent than party politics. The white man of the North saw the white man of the South beneath the rule of the Negro and the man of the North realized that Congress in striking at the ex-slave owner had overreached him and had dealt a staggering blow upon the heart of the white race of the South. General Grant, though it was generally known that he was opposed to the excesses of the Reconstruction, received the very meager majority of 300,000 votes in a total vote of more than 6,000,000 in an election in which the white men of the Southern States had not been allowed the ballot. Congress saw the handwriting on the wall. Blood had triumphed over politics!

While considering the plight of a great

people prostrate beneath the ex-slave we should remember the part played in the history of the South by a turbulent minority. A blood-soaked soil, the humiliations and economic losses of the Reconstruction, generations of injustice to white labor, generations of servitude for the Negro, a race problem that cannot be solved except by herculean effort if the White South is to survive—these are the heritages of the White South, from its Negro-labor aristocracy. An aristocracy that called itself a god, but that proved itself a scourge. An aristocracy that strives to survive in the South, endeavoring to sustain itself upon cheap Negro labor and upon white men's labor made cheap by competition with Negro labor.

HOW TO DEAL WITH THE NORTH: THE CORPUSCLE ROUTE

In dealing with the North we must remember that the time honored method of the South's "getting its back up" in matters in which it is misunderstood by the North is not good diplomacy, and none of its advocates can say that this policy has met with success. If the South will use its head more and its back less, the two sections will come to a better understanding. In matters effecting race, we have advantages in dealing with the North which cannot be offset by political manipulations. The White North knows that, if the White South fails in the battle for race integrity, the chasm in which the South is plunged will widen until it has engulfed every child of the North.

There is in the North a consciousness that, if the South is the loser in the struggle, the White North will perish. This consciousness, that if the South be the loser the North will not escape, must be quickened. But in expecting support from the North, the South must rise to the moral heights of the great leader who said "with malice toward none, with charity for all." In saving our race from the Negro we must save the Negro from our race. In making our nation white we must place the Negro in a nation of his own, free, with guarantees for his freedom.

There is in the North an organization of Northern mulattoes, with white associates, which is influencing the nation with its propaganda. It speaks and politicians bow their head. It speaks again and politicians bend their knees. The official staff of this organization was so light in color that it was difficult to consider it as representing the Negro race, whose spokesman it professed to be, and whose votes it asserted it was able to direct. Under the attack of Marcus Garvey the racial complexion of the official staff darkened, and an occasional Negro can now be seen where a near-white sat. This organization opposes Garvey. It also opposes legislation in any form to prevent the legal miscegenation of the races. Had these near-whites and their full-white associates devoted their energies during the past seventeen years to the preventing of Negroes murdering white men and raping white women, there would be little discussion of lynching.

There is a moral defect in an organization that concerns itself more with the form of punishment than with the nature of the crime which leads to the punishment. But however defective and incomplete in the moral realm, it has proved itself powerful in the political realm. *The fact that its policy will not solve the Negro problem, save its position that the State has no right to prevent the mixing of the races, stamps it inadequate to deal with the problem.* If the unfortunate people, and their white associates, who direct the program of this organization, will divert their energies and bring them to the support of the great Negro, Marcus Garvey, who strives for the nationality and integrity of Negro peoples they could prove themselves a constructive force in race as well as politics. There is a grave defect in the education the white man has given to these people. When a Negro is released from school and goes forth to resist the urge of his race in its struggle for integrity and nationality we may well question whether our method of education will prove to be a blessing to his race. The Negro has borne the burdens the white man has placed upon his shoulders. He is now beginning to carry the burden placed upon him by men of his own race, who have been educated by the whites, and this latter pressure, like the first, tends to blind the Negro's eyes to the vision of race destiny.

The Northern whites will not for long suffer the impudence of these mixbreeds who assert that the State has no right to prevent the mix-

ing of races, and whose command many white politicians obey. We in the South, knowing the origin of the mulatto, will be untrue to our higher ideals of race and unworthy of the service of the white people of the North who withdrew the "Carpetbagger" from our midst if we do not urge the passage of laws throughout the North to prevent the mixing of the races.

THE CLOSED DOOR

When, for the benefit of a few slave-shippers and a few slave-owners, the Negro was implanted within our midst, he found himself in a prison with but two exits, both apparently closed. He was confronted by the inescapable issues of a race problem that could not be solved except by the separation of the races or by the amalgamation of the races.

To escape the "blond beast" that had seized him, the Negro looked to the door of his prison marked "Separation" and felt a hope, for America was a vast expanse with unmarked frontiers. To escape the white man, many Negroes fled to the red man for succor. But the white man's sway over the red man became powerful, and the red man often found it expedient to return the black man to his white master. To perfect the prison, the white man who held the Negro caused to be written into the fundamental laws of his country a fugitive slave agreement, by reason of which the whites who did not hold slaves were obligated to deliver up refugee slaves to their masters. The door of "Separation" seemed to be effectively closed.

The other door to the prison, from the inside, was apparently more hopelessly secure than the door of "Separation." But the awestruck black ere long found that the door marked "Amalgamation," though immovable from within could be opened from without. It creaked and a white man entered. When he had gone out, the men and women whose ancestors had roamed the Congo forests knew that there was a way of escape. They knew that though their race was denied the privilege of saving itself, it was to be given the privilege of losing itself, and would have revenge for its enslavement, for in the losing of itself it would destroy the "blond beast" that had seized it.

THE SOUTH'S PART

If the future American is negroid the South will have been mainly responsible for the destruction of the white race in the nation. The South is mainly responsible for implanting the Negro in the nation, for mixing with the Negro, and the South will justly bear the most of the blame if the Negro is retained. The South of history is responsible for the rising cloud, and only the South of today can prevent the storm from breaking and visiting a race-devastation upon the entire white stock of the nation, for if the South does not act the nation will not escape.

The West *asked* to be saved from the Asiatic. The North *asked* to be saved from the immigrant. *What request has the South made?* Had the West wished to be inundated by the

Asiatic, exclusion of the Asiatic would not have been accomplished. Had the North wished the continuation of the incoming of millions of immigrants the present immigration law would not have been enacted. As the South does not seek to free herself, the nation has a right to suspect that she has resigned herself to a negroid future.

The South's part in preserving the white race in America should offset its influence which has tended to mongrelize the white race in America. The compensation to our race for the destructive influences of privileged greed and lust, offers to the South the service of leadership. Most of the Negroes live in the South. Other whites will hesitate to interfere with the Negro problem, for on another occasion their interference resulted in strife. Our whole history has led other whites to believe that we wish cheap Negro labor and a pure white race—both if possible, in any case cheap Negro labor. Some of the whites who live apart from the South are aware that this peculiar ideal has been forced upon the South by limited but dominant cliques of Southerners. In the supineness of the present White South, the world has a right to suspect that a hand from the tomb is laid upon us, subduing our race ideals and paralyzing our race efforts. To do my individual share in removing this impression I have included certain data in this thesis which otherwise would not have been included.

To lead the nation in securing a white race in a white nation, the White South must be genuinely sorrowful for the race-destroying in-

fluences of its miscegenation with the Negro. The South cannot condemn miscegenation and condone the miscegenationists. The men who brought the Negro here and the men who mixed with the Negro were enemies, not friends of the white race. If the effort we have made to eulogize these race renegades had been directed toward removing the race scourge they visited upon us, we might now have a white nation.

The White South has proclaimed race ideals. What is needed is action to attain them. Additional proclamations of ideals unaccompanied by action to realize them will only draw anew the attention of Northern whites to the futility of our words, for the Northern whites who witness an unending stream of mulattoes, from the Southern broodland, coming into their midst, will look to us for acts, not words, before they believe we are not to go the way of Latin America.

WHAT TO DO

The first step to be taken is to revise the existing statutes of the Southern States which were enacted to prevent the mixing of the races. Virginia has recently made a revision: (See Appendix II.) Under the old law, numerous mixbreeds, of various hues and degrees of admixture were pressing upon the color line, making the claim that they could legally marry whites. Those who have but a minor proportion of Negro blood constitute themselves the advance guard of the darker army which is behind them. The existing

laws of the Southern States contain the defects which led Virginia to revise her statutes. There is no reason to believe that the pressure against the legal color-line by mixbreeds in Virginia marks that State as exceptional in the South. We know that similar conditions exist generally.

The second step is adequately to punish illegal miscegenation. White women and black women, white men and black men, must be taught that we intend miscegenation to cease. The laws against race-mixing should be applied without favor to members of both races. In doing this we shall gain the support of the race-respecting Negro.

A third step is to devise adequate means to warn our race in the North that swarms of mixbreeds from their broodland in the South are migrating to the North, that many of these people are light in color, and that most of them seek white mates. Some of these mixbreeds have established themselves in organizations and threaten the politicians of the North if there is an effort to prevent the mixing of the races in the North. The District of Columbia and nineteen Northern States do not prevent intermarriage between whites and blacks. The national capital and these nineteen States furnish a legal mating ground for the races. Colonies of miscegenationists are developing in these States. Clubs composed of black husbands with white wives are formed. The movement of the Negro northward continues, and the invasion will have to be met by anti-miscegenation laws if the mixing of the races

is to cease. The South is responsible for the creation of the most of the mixbreeds who have become a peril to our race in the North. The responsibility is ours and we should do all that is possible for us to do to prevent the inflow of the blood of our mulattoes into the veins of our race in the North. Throughout the North there are Negroes who respect their race and hope for its independence. In matters of race purity this element will support the enactment of laws preventing the mixing of the races.

The next step for the white South is to come to the aid of the Negroes who have revived the colonization movement. A large proportion of the Negroes would gladly get away from the dominion of the whites were they assured of an independent nation of their own. In supporting the colonization movement among the Negroes let us remember that the man who has inspired more confidence and hope in his people than any other man in history is in the Atlanta Penitentiary. He is in a United States Prison, and above him, triumphant, are his enemies who believe that aid from the white man will enable them to have this black man, who dares preach Negro integrity and Negro independence, forever removed from his predominance within the Negro race, so that their predominance may be re-established. It is contemptible for the White South to abandon Marcus Garvey. Indirectly, the White South can do much to aid him by breaking the unholy alliance between the Northern mixbreeds and the Southern

whites who oppose a nation for the Negroes, the latter holding the Negro here, the former advocating miscegenation.

The Negro problem is not a political problem and should not be considered as such. The Democrat who opposes separation, opposes Thomas Jefferson. The Republican who opposes separation, opposes Abraham Lincoln. The movement for the separation of the races should be a race movement supported by the race-respecting members of both races, not a party movement.

Every political, social, religious, and economic organization should use its influence to demand that Lincoln's plan for the solution of the Negro problem be substituted for the miscegenationist ideals instituted by Congress when that body repudiated Lincoln's plan. The White South should repropose and call upon the nation to assist in securing Lincoln's plan of separation of the races. Its failure to do this will stamp it as acquiescing in the Reconstruction plan for solving the Negro problem by amalgamation. Let the White South remember that Lincoln said that "will" was what was needed to secure separation.

We must not believe that our brethren in the North wish us to become mongrels. The Northern people know that our color-line is drawn between those who are white and those not white and they know as well that in its practical application it is the most effective color-line in existence. They know that though our color-line has not prevented mixbreeds it has kept the mixbreeds on the

Negro side of the color-line and in doing this has preserved an unquestioned white stock of many millions. They know that the whites of the South came to the aid of the West in its purpose to free itself from the presence of the Oriental and to the aid of the North in its purpose to prevent a change of national ideals and institutions through the massing in the nation of race types alien to those which had founded the nation. They know as well that the South came to the aid of the North in the struggle for political independence.

A people who have given aid may ask aid. When we ask the North and West to return to us in kind the service we have rendered to them, our request will not fall upon deaf ears. What purpose will it serve to exclude the Oriental if we are to become part African? And what will be the advantage of limiting the number of immigrants if our descendants are to be negroid?

If the South will put forth an effort to give a home to the Negro equal to that it put forth to deprive the Negro of a home, the white ideal will win throughout the nation. This service offers to the South the certainty of compensating, in some measure at least, its own white laboring class for centuries of wrong to this class, and atoning, in some measure, for its centuries of wrong to the Negro.

Either this service or a negroid future. If the South does not *act* to secure the separation of the races, the South stands for amalgamation of the races, regardless of its pretences.

APPENDIX I

"EXTRAORDINARY VIRGINIA PETITION."
(*Italics reproduced.*)

Extract from a Petition to the Throne, presented from the House of Burgesses of Virginia, April 1, 1772.

"The importation of slaves into the colonies from the coast of Africa, hath long been considered as a trade of great inhumanity, and under its *present encouragement*, we have too much reason to fear *will endanger the very existence* of your majesty's American dominions."

"We are sensible that some of your majesty's subjects of *Great Britain* may reap emoluments from this sort of traffic, but when we consider that it greatly retards the settlement of the colonies, with *more useful* inhabitants, and may, in time, have the most destructive influence, we presume to hope, that the *interest of a few* will be disregarded when placed in competition with the security and happiness of such numbers of your majesty's dutiful and loyal subjects."

"Deeply impressed with these sentiments, we most humbly beseech your majesty to *remove all those restraints* on your majesty's governors of this colony, which *inhibit their assenting to such laws as might check so very pernicious a commerce.*" Journals of the House of Burgesses, page 131. Quoted in Tucker's Blackstone, Vol. 1, Appendix, page 51. On page 49-50 Tucker lists 23 acts for the purpose of discouraging importations of

slaves. Tucker states, page 52, that he had read a letter from Granville Sharpe, a friend of the prime minister in which he speaks of the petition: "I myself was desired by a letter from America, to enquire for an answer to this extraordinary Virginia petition. I waited on the secretary of state, and was informed by himself that the petition *was received*, but that (he apprehended) *no answer would be given.*

For a century the white people of Virginia who wished the colony to be white had opposed the whites of the colony who wished the colony to be part African. The white ideal has been always dominant in Virginia, but those who wished a white colony were compelled to submit to Negro-selling British aristocrats in league with a comparatively few Negro-buying colonials and, later, to the league of Negro-buying Southerner and Negro-selling New Englander.

The British attempt to make the colonies negroid was an underlying cause of the Revolution and that war should have been fought primarily over *race* and only secondarily in opposition to British economic exploitation and political tyranny.

APPENDIX II

RECENT VIRGINIA RACIAL LEGISLATION

In 1924 the General Assembly enacted a law which defines a white person as a person having no trace whatsoever of the blood of a colored race, with the exception that persons whose blood composition is that of the white race and one-sixteenth or less of the North American Indian are deemed to be white, and makes illegal the marriage of white persons with those not white.

By reason of there being very little of Indian blood in Virginia, the Racial Integrity Law of 1924 is probably the most perfected expression of the white racial ideal since the institution of caste in India, some four thousand years ago.

1926 RACIAL LEGISLATION

The law of 1924 has attracted the attention of legislators of several states. The attempt to amend it led to wide interest throughout Virginia. Light-colored mixbreeds, of related types to those described in "MONGREL VIRGINIANS" (see page 111 of this treatise for description of the book), attempt to qualify as white under the provision for one-sixteenth Indian blood. The proposed amendment, seeking to eliminate Negro blood, also eliminated Indian blood, with certain exceptions. A Richmond paper, discussing the proposed amendment in feature articles and editorials, declared that 20,000 Virginia aristocrats would be forbidden to marry white people. Most of the Negro press in the nation interpreted this to mean that there is a negroid aristocracy in Virginia. In many of the Latin American countries it would doubtless be interpreted to mean that there is a Mestizo aristocracy in the state.

However, Virginia has neither a Mulatto nor a Mestizo aristocracy. The prominent families that have a trace of Indian blood are to all effect biologically white, their Indian blood being derived from intermarriages in the seventeenth century. Several days before the local press featured the bill its spon-

sors had detected the error and proposed to *deem* white, persons of white and one-eighth or less Indian blood (the existing statute allows only one-sixteenth Indian blood), none of whose ancestors are recorded in the Fiscal, the Vital Statistics, or the Court records of Virginia or any other government, as Negro, Free Negro, Mulatto, Free Mulatto, Colored, Free Colored, Black, Free Black, Issue, Free Issue, or other such non-white designation.

The proposed amendment, in its original form, also carried a provision which would have extended the present "Jim Crow" laws to all persons not legally white. Opposition to it seemed to center on these two provisions. Both were remedied, but not until much publicity had been given them. Several religious leaders opposed the extension of the "Jim Crow" laws to Chinese, Japanese, and other Asiatics, but none proposed to exempt the local Negro from their operation.

This bill passed the House of Delegates but was defeated in the Senate.

THE CARNAL COMMUNICATION BILL

Interracial marriage is made a felony by the existing antimiscegenation law and those chiefly responsible for the enactment of that law sought to have illicit sex relations between the races deemed a felony.

The bill was prepared with a preamble which is here given:

PREAMBLE

Whereas, to preserve race integrity the laws of Virginia make illegal the intermarriage of white persons with persons not white and declare such intermarriage a felony; and,

Whereas, under the laws of Virginia, fornication between white persons and persons not white is a mere misdemeanor; and,

Whereas, there is nothing in the illicit nature of such inter-racial fornication to make it less reprehensible or less punishable than intermarriage; and,

Whereas, nature makes no distinction between mix-breeds born in wedlock and mix-breeds born out of wedlock, and the offspring of illegal unions imperil

race integrity equally as much as the offspring of legal unions; therefore, & etc.

This bill received serious consideration, was discussed in committee on three or more occasions, but failed of enactment. Those who know of the origin of the mulattoes in the South, that they have not arisen through marriage, which is punished as a felony, but through illicit relation, which is deemed a misdemeanor, should not draw the conclusion that illicit sex relations between the races are, at the present time, viewed with a tolerant spirit in Virginia. Such is not a fact. The existing legislation while it deems such relations as a misdemeanor provides special penalties.

SEGREGATION OF THE RACES IN PUBLIC ASSEMBLIES

For generations there has been a custom in the South amounting to an unwritten law that white people should welcome colored people to certain of their public assemblies and that colored people should welcome white people to certain of their public assemblies. This custom is alleged to be violated by a particular wealthy institution which teaches Negro youths, directed by whites, with many white teachers on the faculty. The alleged violation of the custom was at entertainments which white people voluntarily attended.

Several prominent white citizens appeared at the committee hearings of the bill. They advanced the view that legislation was not desirable, that the custom if violated could be better reestablished by agreements that could be reached by the influence of capable leaders of the white and black races, that the demand for the legislation was local and not state wide, and that the enactment of the bill into a law would create racial unrest.

Those who supported the bill stated that the particular institution had received ample warning of the uneasiness felt by many whites as to the implication of certain alleged teaching affecting the races as well as to the alleged violation of the customs and traditions of the state. They admitted that the immediate demand for legislation was local but that if the

conditions were not remedied at this point it would soon cease to be local, that students from the institution would disseminate knowledge of the traditions and customs being violated at the institution, and that greater unrest would follow the failure to pass the bill. The bill passed both House of Delegates and the Senate by a large majority.

THE FRATERNAL ORGANIZATION BILL

A bill forbidding the operation within Virginia of fraternal organizations composed of both white and colored membership passed without serious opposition. This measure like that one affecting the segregation of races in public assemblies was made expedient by the operation within the state of influences and ideals originating without the state.

THE RESOLUTION

A large organization of Negroes has spent considerable money and effort to secure assistance from the Federal Government in their purpose to continue the colonization of Liberia. The Liberian venture was indirectly originated by a resolution in the Virginia General Assembly and was sustained chiefly by the General Assembly and by many of the most famous men the state has produced. The desire of these Negroes being consistent with the traditional ideals of Virginia, and resolutions affecting the ideals being consistent with ample precedents in the General Assembly, it was thought to be expedient to secure, if possible, an expression of sympathy and a suggestion as to practical procedure for the new colonization movement.

Text of the Resolution:

Memorializing the Congress of the United States to make provision for the colonization of persons of African descent, with their own consent, at any place or places without the United States.

1. Whereas, race problems produced by the contact of races cannot be solved except by amalgamating the races or separating them; and
2. Whereas, it is highly desirable that the American "Negro Problem" should be solved in a manner

that will preserve the white race and the black that each may make its contribution to the welfare of mankind; and

3. Whereas, many of our Negroes evidence a desire to live in an independent nation of Negroes and strive to achieve a high and honorable race destiny; and
4. Whereas, such desire on the part of our Negroes was encouraged by eminent white Americans who founded the colony of Liberia, and, later, by other eminent white Americans who sought to acquire San Domingo for a colony for our Negroes; and
5. Whereas, there is much valuable land sparsely populated in the Negro republics of Hayti, San Domingo, and Liberia; and
6. Whereas, the ancestors of our Negroes were deprived of liberty and property and forced into servitude to the white race; and
7. Whereas, in servitude and in freedom the Negroes in America have served the white race in America in a manner morally to obligate the white man to recompense the Negroes by generously assisting them to establish themselves with bright prospects for the future in an independent nation ruled by men of their own race;
8. Wherefore, Be it resolved by the House of Delegates, the Senate concurring, that the General Assembly of Virginia memorialize the Congress of the United States to make provision for the colonization of persons of African descent, with their own consent, at any place or places without the United States.

Notes Concerning the Declarations and Provisions of the Resolution Memorializing Congress for National Aid for Colonizing Negroes:

1st "Whereas"

The Negro Problem, like other race problems of the past, will not continue through the ages but will find solution and history and biology teach that the solution of race problems produced by the contact of races is limited to amalgamation and separation. It will require sane, intelligent action to secure separation

of the races. Inaction and time will lead to amalgamation. We cannot change the nature of race problems but we can choose between the two possible solutions.

Long before the present biologists and historians had warned us that we will have to choose between separation and amalgamation, Thomas Jefferson, a far-seeing statesman, in supporting his own proposals for separation of the races, warned his countrymen that they would have to choose between separation and amalgamation. Foreseeing the conflict between the races Jefferson, speaking of the Negro, said, "I wish to render it their inclination and their interest to seek those privileges in some other climate."

2nd "Whereas"

We have tried, in a measure, both forms of solution—Separation, by colonizing some of the Negroes in Liberia; amalgamation, as evidenced by 3,000,000 mix-breeds. This resolution, without offense to either race, expresses our desire that the solution through separation should continue and offers practical suggestions as to procedure.

3rd "Whereas"

The Universal Negro Improvement Association, possibly the largest and most vital organization of Negroes in the world, is on record, through "The Negro World," its official journal, and in many official acts, as favoring and as working for an independent Negro nation. Probably a thousand declarations expressly declaring this ideal may be found in the records of the above organization.

4th "Whereas"

Paul Cuffe, an American Negro, at his own expense, carried the first ship load of American Negroes to the West Coast of Africa. The American Colonization Society, led by Bushrod Washington, Madison, Monroe, Marshall, Clay, John Randolph of Roanoke, and supported by a host of eminent men and women, North and South, came to the assistance of Paul Cuffe. Our support of the present interest among Negroes to continue the colonization of Liberia would have high historical precedent.

General Grant, when president of the United States,

recommended to Congress that San Domingo, which had asked for annexation to the United States, be acquired. In his memoirs he stated that he made this recommendation with the view of colonizing the American Negroes in San Domingo. The Congress, at this time, was under control of the forces that had brought on the "Reconstruction," had attempted to equalize the races, and was opposed to solving the problems by separation. But the "Reconstruction" measures of Congress were in express violation of Lincoln's oftentimes declared position (the favored colonization), and, as we know, were overwhelmingly defeated in several Northern states when submitted to popular vote.

5th "Whereas"

Dr. Frederick Starr (American) and Sir Harry Johnston (British), foremost authorities on the Republic of Liberia, are of the opinion that that country will support 20,000,000 inhabitants. Its present population is approximately 2,000,000. The English language is spoken and the system of government is modeled after that of the United States. Many whites are now living on the West Coast of Africa while present industrial developments will require several thousands more whites.

The Negro republics of Hayti and San Domingo occupy the island of Hayti in the West Indies. The climate is excellent but our Negroes would have to learn either the French or the Spanish language. Hayti will support about ten or twelve million additional population.

6th "Whereas"

Negroes in Africa customarily have tribal rights as well as individual rights. The removal of the Negroes from Africa entailed, of course, a loss of rights which would have been theirs had they been born in the land of their ancestors.

7th "Whereas"

Self-explanatory though there may be difference of opinion as to the white man's obligations to the Negro. The obligation is here expressed in keeping with the generous sentiments of many eminent Southerners.

8th "Whereas"

Both in colonial and national times the legislative body of Virginia passed many acts and resolutions to discourage and limit slavery, while at least three resolutions have been passed favoring the solution of the race problem by colonization. Elsewhere is shown that a resolution in the Virginia House of Delegates made by C. F. Mercer, himself a member of that body, was chiefly responsible for the organization of the American Colonization Society, which organization founded the colony of Liberia. Virginia appropriated, in 1822, \$50,000 and, in 1850, made an appropriation of \$30,000 per year for five years to assist in the colonization of Liberia. The Virginia legislature and eminent citizens of Virginia did more than the legislature or the citizens of any other state to found Liberia.

The General Assembly of Virginia has done more than the legislative body of any other state toward securing the solution of the Negro problem by segregation of the races, and has done more than the legislative body of any other state to prevent its solution by amalgamation of the races. But the Negro problem is a national problem and cannot be solved by a state.

Bushrod Washington, James Madison, John Marshall, James Monroe, Randolph of Roanoke, Henry Clay and Abraham Lincoln were among the number of those who sought to secure federal support for the colonization of Liberia, but the question of slavery arose to prevent federal aid. Both Thomas Jefferson and Abraham Lincoln were outstanding advocates of colonization of the Negroes and there are few indeed who would wish to hold the Negro problem to be a party problem.

The work of the American Colonization Society was cut short by the Civil War but that organization is still in existence, with headquarters in Washington, D. C. The legislatures of Virginia, Maryland, Tennessee, Ohio, New Jersey, Rhode Island, Vermont, Kentucky, Delaware, Massachusetts, and Pennsylvania officially approved the colonization of Liberia. (See *The American Colonization Society* by Early Lee Fox, Ph.D., The Johns Hopkins Press, Baltimore, Md.)

FATE OF THE RESOLUTION

The Resolution did not come to committee discussion until very near the end of the session. A tie vote resulted. One of the opponents classed the Resolution as part of a racial legislative program which bid fair to arouse racial feelings locally and possibly to endanger the lives of American missionaries in China.

It is difficult to understand how an expression of sympathy for American Negroes would endanger the lives of American missionaries in China, and I, personally, appealed to a Minister of the Gospel, a leader among those who opposed all racial legislation, to make an exception of the Resolution, for though the time was short it was still possible to have the committee reconsider the measure. We discussed the Resolution's relation to the missions in China and as a result of the interview I believed that the opposition would be withdrawn. However in a second interview this minister opposed the Resolution on other grounds. I thought of Pharaoh hardening his heart and of the plagues that were visited upon Egypt.

SUMMARY

Two of the bills proposed to give legal sanction to time honored customs affecting the white and Negro race. These bills passed both branches of the legislature with little opposition. The two bills which proposed to amend existing statutes were defeated. Most of the opposition to the proposed amendments was directed at non-essential provisions. The laws they proposed to amend are exceptionally stringent measures. The Resolution is consistent with Virginia traditions, history, and ideals, and it is quite likely that it would have received the support of a majority of the members of the General Assembly. We face the same problem which led Virginia to support the colonization of Liberia and the present Virginian has not abandoned the racial ideals of his forefathers.

During the opposition to the Virginia racial legislation, the Negro press, in glaring headlines, reported that a white woman, speaking at a political meeting in the West, had been applauded when she opposed

racial legislation and demanded the repeal of all laws which prevent intermarriage between whites and Negroes. But those who opposed additional Virginia racial legislation did not propose to abolish that which is existing, and it is certain that there is no conscious concert of movement between the two groups.

A local newspaper charged the sponsors of the racial integrity bill with colossal ignorance of Virginia history, because of the sponsors apparently being unaware of a couple of mixed marriages (white-Indian) in the seventeenth century. This same paper in an editorial discussing Virginia's way of dealing with the Negro problem, opposed the Resolution. The writer of the editorial appears to be more familiar with genealogy than with history.

Certain officials of the Richmond Chamber of Commerce, according to press reports, opposed the Resolution on social and economic grounds. It is at least open to question whether these officials wish to retain the Negroes mainly for social reasons. If they desire the Negro for economic reasons they are referred to the dedication of this treatise. Henry Clay believed that the whites who opposed colonization of the Negro were willing "to debase and degrade" the white working class of the nation. We would be glad to secure from the Chamber of Commerce a more complete statement of its racial program.

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